DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 391 593 PS 023 898

AUTHOR	Richardson, John
TITLE	Achieving Gender Equality in Families: The Role of Males. Innocenti Global Seminar Summary Report (Kingston, Jamaica, May 8-18, 1995).
INSTITUTION	United Nations Children's Fund, Florence (Italy). International Child Development Centre.
REPORT NO	ISBN-88-85401-24-4
PUB DATE	Oct 95
NOTE	55p.
AVAILABLE FROM	UNICEF International Child Development Centre, Piazza Santissima Annunziata, 12, 50122 Florence, Italy ($9 US).
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021) -- Reports - Descriptive (141)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Adolescents; Child Health; Child Rearing; Child Welfare; Elementary Secondary Education; Employed Parents; *Fathers; Feminism; Foreign Countries; Global Approach; Mass Media Role; Mothers; *Parent Role; *Sex Fairness; *Sex Role; Television
IDENTIFIERS	*UNICEF

ABSTRACT

This report summarizes the proceedings of UNICEF's Global Innocenti Seminar on "Achieving Gender Equality in Families: The Role of Males." The seminar examined how, as more women become economic providers for families, the role of males in families needs to develop new dimensions so that they can contribute to improved health and education of children, to making women's roles more equitable, and to increasing stability of families. Seminar topics included the following: (1) "Introduction: The Importance of Men in Achieving Gender Equality in Families," stressing the inadequacy of an exclusive focus on women; (2) "The Ongoing Struggle to Define Gender Equality," pointing out historical reasons that gender policy has focused on women; (3) "Gender Roles: How Do They Affect the Child?"; (4) "Social Change and the Loss of the Traditional Family"; (5) "The 'New Man': Male Caretakers and Gender Equality"; (6) "Family Life Cycles: Family, School and Adolescence"; (7) "The Media as Socializer of Gender Roles," detailing the pervasive and demeaning nature of the media; (8) "The Challenge of Programming for Gender Equality: How To Involve Males"; (9) "What Can UNICEF and Others Do?"; and (10) "Recommendations," including suggestions to focus more analysis on the roles of males, developing a life cycle approach for boys as well as girls, and adapting existing policy on gender. A writeup "Incorporating the Role of Fathers in the Situation Analysis: Cape Verde," sample workplans, and a five-item suggested reading list are included in the Appendices. (BGC)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 391 593

ACHIEVING GENDER EQUALITY IN FAMILIES: THE ROLE OF MALES

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
[X] This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
[ ] Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

SUMMARY REPORT

UNICEF International Child Development Centre
Spedale degli Innocenti
Florence, Italy

Prepared by
John Richardson

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN OTHER THAN PAPER COPY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Patricia Light
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)"

unicef
United Nations Children's Fund

PS 023898

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

INNOCENTI GLOBAL SEMINAR

ACHIEVING GENDER EQUALITY IN FAMILIES: THE ROLE OF MALES

8-18 May 1995
Kingston, Jamaica

SUMMARY REPORT

UNICEF
International
Child Development Centre
Spedale degli Innocenti
Florence, Italy

Prepared by
John Richardson

Copyright 1995
UNICEF International Child Development Centre
Florence, Italy

ISBN: 88-85401-24-4
October 1995

All correspondence should be addressed to:
UNICEF International Child Development Centre
Piazza Santissima Annunziata, 12
50122 Florence, Italy
Tel. (39 55) 23.45.258
Fax (39 55) 24.48.17
Tlx. 57297 UNICEF I

Extracts from this publication may be freely reproduced provided that due acknowledgement is given to the source and to UNICEF. The opinions expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the policies or views of UNICEF.

Phototypeset by Bernard & Co. - Siena
Printed by Arti Grafiche TICCI - Sovicille (SI)

INNOCENTI GLOBAL SEMINAR

Contents

Preface by Kul C. Gautam 5
Summary of main conclusions 6

I. **INTRODUCTION: THE IMPORTANCE OF MEN IN ACHIEVING GENDER EQUALITY IN FAMILIES** 7
- An exclusive focus on women is not adequate 7
- The male role in family life has not been well understood 7
- Understanding men's roles is critical to the achievement of development goals for women and children . 8

II. **THE ONGOING STRUGGLE TO DEFINE GENDER EQUALITY** 11
- 'Gender equality' has varied implications 11
- For historical reasons, gender policy has focused primarily on women 11
- For UNICEF, gender equality is becoming a family issue 13

III. **GENDER ROLES: HOW DO THEY AFFECT THE CHILD?** 14
- Families are in transition and women now assume increasing economic responsibility 14
- Limited data have revealed the importance of the male's presence as father in child development 16

IV. **SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE LOSS OF THE TRADITIONAL FAMILY** 18
- As pressures on the family increase, the influence of the male as authority figureis in decline 18
- The loss of male authority can lead to violence 18

V. **THE 'NEW MAN': MALE CARETAKERS AND GENDER EQUALITY** 21
- The 'new man' is both nurturer and caregiver for children 21
- Many men fear the loss of their role as economic provider 22

VI. **FAMILY LIFE CYCLES: FAMILY, SCHOOL AND ADOLESCENCE** 23
- Changing gender roles throughout life need to be better understood 23
- Family and school are important socializers, but are not always progressive or consistent in education about gender roles 23
- Fathers appear to exercise significant influence in school performance: failure for boys in Brazil 26
- In adolescence, socialization is often done by peers 27
- Working with youth: what has been done? 28
- Socialization of adolescents is often complicated by conflicting messages from peers and adults 30

VII. **THE MEDIA AS SOCIALIZER OF GENDER ROLES** 32
- In many cases, Western media has become pervasive and demeaning 32
- Promoting gender equality through local or traditional media 32

VIII. **THE CHALLENGE OF PROGRAMMING FOR GENDER EQUALITY: HOW TO INVOLVE MALES** 34
- Show them what is in it for them 34
- Encourage them to communicate with each other 34

IX. **WHAT CAN UNICEF AND OTHERS DO?** 37
- Encourage greater participation of men in existing programmes and the development of new concepts of masculinity 37
- Some key questions for programmers 37
- When possible, alter existing programmes rather than create new ones 38

X. **RECOMMENDATIONS** 40
- More focused analysis of the role of males 40
- Policy and action for families 40

ANNEX 1. Agenda of the Sixth Innocenti Global Seminar 41
ANNEX 2. Participants and Invited Speakers 46
ANNEX 3. Incorporating the Role of Fathers in the Situation Analysis: Cape Verde 48
ANNEX 4. Sample Work Plans 50
ANNEX 5. Suggested Reading List 53

PREFACE

The traditional family, in which the man was regarded as the economic provider and the woman as provider of emotional care to children, is no longer as common as many think in much of the world. More women are becoming economic providers for families, in many cases the sole economic provider, and therefore many men no longer have exclusive province in this regard.

Many unions between men and women have dissolved around the world as well, and even in those cases where men and women do exercise their responsibilities as father and mother together in the same family, it is increasingly common that families can no longer survive on the income of only one family member. Around the world, men still exercise disproportionate political authority and therefore often decide how resources devoted to family welfare are to be used, but there are also many other men who, through underemployment or unemployment, have lost their traditional role in the family.

UNICEF realizes that the role of males in families needs to develop new dimensions if they are to contribute significantly to improved health and education for their children, make more equitable the role of women, and improve in a sustainable way the stability of family life.

As quoted in the Platform for Action (Chapter 1, The Mission Statement) of the World Conference on Women at Beijing:

> *A transformed partnership based on equality between women and men is a condition for people-centred sustainable development. A sustained and long-term commitment is essential so that the women and men can work together for themselves, for their children and for society to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century.*

In a world where women have assumed increasing economic, as well as social and emotional, responsibility for the welfare of children and families, men need to be able to develop a new identity that includes a greater sharing of nurturing, caretaking and economic support roles so that women are not overburdened and men can be proud of their roles as fathers.

Recent evidence has also suggested that many of the development goals of UNICEF and various governmental and non-governmental partners will not be achieved or sustained unless men and boys are more fully involved and their role in family well-being better understood. As a topic of research and programme development, the role of the male in family decision-making and as caretaker of children has been largely overlooked, and has only recently become a focus of inquiry.

UNICEF's Global Innocenti Seminar on 'Achieving Gender Equality in Families: The Role of Males', held at the University of the West Indies in Kingston, Jamaica in May 1995, was an important step in broadening the discussion of the male role in achieving gender equality in families. It was the second gathering of UNICEF programme staff and experienced resource people to focus on the subject of gender and family.

The framework for the Seminar reflected the life-cycle approach to changing gender roles in families, and consequent opportunities for intervention. Thus, the importance of the nurturing involvement of fathers and other male members in early childhood was discussed as an important early role for bonding as well as for the future achievements for children. The disparity of opportunities that were perpetuated beyond the home through the education system was the next critical phase for review, looking at schools and the experience of both boys and girls. The final stage of adolescence was discussed as pivotal for re-orienting the dynamics of boys and girls, young men and women's interactions, including for preventing high-risk behaviours that perpetuate domestic violence and increase the vulnerability to infection from HIV/AIDS.

This report highlights how the Seminar contributed significantly to the exchange of ideas and experiences in this relatively new field and how UNICEF, government and non-governmental organizations can work together to strengthen the role of males in families, upon which ultimately, important social change depends.

Kul C. Gautam
Director, Programme Division
UNICEF

Summary of Main Conclusions

1. Within the framework of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), we need to build in tools for assessing the gender dimension of development policies.

2 There is growing evidence that if UNICEF is going to continue to contribute to the achievement of development goals and the larger objective of gender equality between women and men, there will have to be greater efforts to involve men in their capacities as decision-makers in family and community, and to understand these roles. The relation between men and women, the roles that they play and the strengths and weaknesses of each, as well as the underlying inequities that they reflect, deserve consideration.

3. While reviews indicate that men are minimally involved in the direct care of their children, limited evidence indicates that when they are, it is beneficial to children, mothers, fathers, and to men themselves. Thus, the male's role in family and community decision-making, in influencing the nutritional, educational and psycho-social development of children, as well as in sharing financial responsibility for family welfare, is now regarded by many experts on family life as crucial but not well understood.

4 There was agreement among Seminar participants that in developing strategies to promote male involvement, this should be done in a way that is inclusive of men in all UNICEF-supported activities, not as a separate policy that focuses exclusively on men.

5 Within its existing mandate to work for the benefit of women and children up to the age of 18, UNICEF is in a unique position to exercise leadership in family policy, from early childhood through the primary education stage into adolescence, to facilitate more equitable gender relationships and roles in families.

6. Specifically in the areas of youth and women's health, two emerging areas of work for the organization, the role of males is recommended to be an important programming strategy for preventing high-risk behaviours that result in unwanted pregnancies, HIV/AIDS, alcohol and drug abuse, and family violence.

7. In some UNICEF country programmes, gender analyses, situation analysis or programmes in early child development or for adolescents have already been undertaken that incorporate the roles of males. The information exchange and networking from these experiences, with UNICEF country offices that prepared workplans at the final session of the Seminar, will be essential within the organization and with our partners, and will be continued on a periodic basis.

I. Introduction: The Importance of Men in Achieving Gender Equality in Families

An Exclusive Focus on Women is Not Adequate

In hundreds of development projects around the world during the 1980s, assistance was provided as a means of helping women deal with poverty and the negative effects of a gender disparity that not only favoured men with greater opportunities and political power but gave them increasingly less responsibility for the welfare of families. Programmes were developed to help women gain better access to health and education resources for themselves and their children, to generate enough income to give them a degree of self-reliance as heads of households, and to highlight the degree to which women assumed a disproportionate responsibility for family work and welfare.

By the end of the decade, it was apparent that women and children made up the majority of the poor, and they were seen by many to be the key to successful development efforts. Numerous studies and anecdotal evidence illuminated the plight of women around the world. For organizations with limited resources for social development, it made sense to direct them to women. Their needs were greater, and chances were that they would be more likely than men to use the resource assistance to benefit their families and communities. In some cases, projects for women brought improvements, but there were other cases in which an exclusive focus on women did not produce the desired results.

While little research has looked into exactly what men have been doing, it has been assumed and in many cases is clearly evident that they have not been doing all that they might to support the women and children in their lives. It is also clear that men have actually been causing many of the problems. Men have been the principal perpetrators of violence against both women and children, they have made political decisions that either have not taken into account the rights of women or have actively worked against them, and they have often fathered children that they were subsequently either unable to support or simply refused to support. Moreover, men have had access to power, resources, education and opportunities that women for the most part have not. While women have made some significant gains in certain parts of the world, and have entered the workforce in greater numbers than ever before, the majority are still mired in poverty, with increasing economic responsibility for the children of the world.

The Male Role in Family Life Has Not Been Well Understood

As more research has been carried out on families, it has become obvious to a small number of demographers and development specialists (a significant proportion of whom are women) that the male's role in family and community decision-making, in influencing the nutritional and psychosocial development of children, and in sharing financial responsibility for family welfare has been crucial, but not well understood. It is also clear that local and regional cultural and economic factors that determine the dynamics of family and community gender roles vary greatly, and should be considered in the development of programmes. Decisions on family and community matters that influence how resources are used, and therefore the extent to which boys and girls will benefit, are mostly made by fathers *and* mothers, and in many cases are the result of broader family and community decision-making processes dependent on these varying factors. In fact, much of any anticipated progress will depend on the actions of both men and women, not just women.

Men's opinions and preferences for the use of family income appear to influence families' immunization coverage, postnatal care and treatment of neonatal tetanus, use of oral rehydration therapy (ORT) and support for breastfeeding, to name just a few areas of direct impact on the health of mothers and children. In general, men's lack of support for women results in a disproportionate share of responsibility for family care falling on women. That lack of support in many cases comes from the cultural assumption that women will automatically carry the workload and care for the children, and is one that men and women need to examine if it is to change.

A crucial finding of studies conducted on different family situations around the world is that as a family gets poorer, the proportion of male income devoted to the family remains constant, while that of women actually increases. Thus, being a mother will in future be the most important factor in determining the poverty status of women and their children unless men begin to share the economic and social respon-

sibilities for their families more equitably. Only if men come to understand what is at stake for their own futures and those of their families will progress continue in a number of key respects. After a decade or more of focusing on women, there is increasing realization that gender equality cannot be achieved without looking at the structural divisions of labour between men and women, and the roles they play in families. The new message is clear: involve the men or progress toward gender equality and social development will be limited.

Such was the thinking that oriented the eight days of discussion and presentations at UNICEF's Innocenti Global Seminar on 'Achieving Gender Equality in Families: The Role of Males', held at the University of the West Indies in Kingston, Jamaica from 8 to 18 May 1995. It was the third major seminar that has been held during the past two years to discuss the role of men in achieving gender equality, and another step forward in a process that began in UNICEF when Judith Bruce of the Population Council in New York highlighted the importance of the subject in a presentation attended by UNICEF senior staff. Her presentation had a significant impact. In his address to the World NGO Forum in December 1993, Dr. Richard Jolly, Deputy Executive Director of UNICEF, referred to the need to encourage "more equitable partnerships between women and men ... especially within families", and "a more active role for fathers in child-rearing". Since then a few initiatives have been undertaken in UNICEF to involve men in programmes for women and children.

UNICEF staff from a number of countries, including Iran, Egypt, Bangladesh, Tanzania, Viet Nam and the Philippines, took part in the Seminar in Jamaica. Academics and staff from non-governmental organizations attended as well, primarily from Jamaica and the United States, where much of the recent research into the role of males in family situations has been carried out. The Seminar was sponsored by UNICEF's International Child Development Centre in Florence, Italy, and by the UNICEF New York Training Section of the Division of Personnel and the Office of Evaluation and Research. Participants heard presentations from research experts and prominent academics in women's and gender studies, psychology and demographics, and from a number of UNICEF staff reporting on projects currently under way in their countries on the alleviation of gender disparities.

Understanding Men's Roles is Critical to the Achievement of Development Goals for Women and Children

There is growing recognition within UNICEF that a number of goals that have been guiding much

The Seminar Objectives

- To examine how the role of males in families (fathers, grandfathers, uncles, the boy child) currently supports or frustrates the achievement of gender equality, thereby contributing to or weakening the possibilities of fully achieving the 1990s Goals for Children and fully implementing the Convention on the Rights of the Child;
- To review the 'state of the art' in applied research concerning the role of males in families, throughout their life cycles, in various countries, both in rural and urban settings;
- To examine work at the international, regional and national levels as concerns efforts to fully integrate males into the family, including initiatives of governments, non-governmental organizations, universities, local communities and the international community;
- To make recommendations at various levels and for various partners concerning what needs to be done to support the role of males in families to better achieve gender equality.

PANEL 1

Involving Men in Viet Nam

One of the ways to encourage men to engage themselves more fully in the care of their families and to help them develop their role as caretakers of children is to show them the positive impact their involvement will have. A project carried out in some of the poorer communes in the Republic of Viet Nam by the Save the Children Fund of the United States (SCF/US) and UNICEF demonstrates one such approach. The project was presented to the Seminar by Steve Woodhouse, UNICEF Representative in Viet Nam.

Viet Nam, a country of 74 million, presents only small gender disparities in immunization and literacy rates: literacy stands at 88 per cent (90% men, 86% women). It is about 80 per cent rural, with many three-generation families in which roles are fixed. As in many other countries, women work longer and harder than men. The family contributes at least 95 per cent of all resources required for child development, a compelling reason to involve men to a greater degree in how those resources are being used to more cost-effectively meet the needs of children.

The potential for education to encourage greater involvement of men became evident when SCF/US did a survey in two communes on women's and children's nutrition. One of the communes had already participated in family education for a year. Husbands in that commune had increased their workloads (doing more field work, etc.) after being told that it would reduce the health care costs for their children.

In another effort, a survey conducted in a commune that had not received family education revealed that men's knowledge of the lives of their children and women was very poor. In response, UNICEF organized a *Facts for Life* contest among men through the Viet Nam Women's Union, which has 11 million members around the country. They had to conduct their own surveys on family life and compare what they found with *Facts for Life* and then write essays using their knowledge.

The contest proved highly popular and quite successful, with more than 47,000 men entering the competition. Older men were the most interested in furthering their involvement in the lives of their grandchildren, and UNICEF is now promoting a 'grandfather coalition for children'. In Thai Dinh province in the months following the contest, the use of oral rehydration salts was up 60 per cent, immunization reached 90 per cent, and nutritional status improved as a result of a credit scheme for families with malnourished children.

UNICEF and the Viet Nam Women's Union aim to replicate the project in the poorest quarter of the communes throughout the country. The real benefit of the project, according to Woodhouse, is the sense of ownership of the process by the men in the community and their empowerment through knowledge.

of the organization's work are not likely be achieved without the fuller participation of men in families. Furthermore, many Seminar participants became increasingly aware that in order to honour its mandate to support women and children, UNICEF needs to understand more about the barriers that prevent men from effective involvement with their families and children in many parts of the world, especially if the totality of familial and community problems of which they are a part is to be understood. Particularly in urban areas and among certain populations of adolescents, males often fall into serious trouble, which in turn adversely affects the lives of women. Greater understanding would more than likely be welcomed by many of the men who are in positions of power and who make decisions affecting family, community and child welfare. "They will be glad", said Nharebat Intchasso, Minister of Social Affairs and Women's Advancement in Guinea-Bissau. "Until now they have been hearing women, women, so they will be glad to hear this."

We have to look at different roles in the family, not just women's rights but men's roles. We need to make people understand and see the different roles. I think there's a lot of ignorance about these things.

Brita Ostberg, UNICEF

Under the definition provided by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, boys and girls are considered children until the age of 18. Within that age span, individuals and the families in which they develop go through a number of life cycle changes. In order to understand the unique potentials and problems of children as they grow, it is necessary to examine the influence of a number of socializing factors that include not only mothers and fathers, but also other influential adults and role models in the child's life, as well as institutions such as schools, social services and religious institutions. Much of the Seminar was divided into sessions devoted to discussing the influences of mothers and fathers on children in the preschool years, elementary school and adolescence. Many of the character attributes and behavioural tendencies of adults, it was realized, have their origins in childhood. Fundamental attitudes about gender held by both men and women, for example, could often be better understood as functions not just of greater social forces but as the partial product of a person's upbringing.

As the Seminar proceeded, it became obvious that for several years gender disparity had been measured primarily as it affected females. Participants were looking for a more comprehensive and realistic framework within which to discuss gender equality and the increasing variety of forms that families and partnerships between men and women now take. Special emphasis was placed on the role of adolescents as future parents. Thus, there were more discussions about family and caretakers than about women and fathers and mothers. It was recognized that just as UNICEF is interested in women because they are the primary caretakers of children and cannot fulfil this role on their own in much of the world, men too can be caretakers but have trouble meeting their obligations.

II. The Ongoing Struggle to Define Gender Equality

'Gender Equality' Has Varied Implications

While the terms 'gender equality' and 'gender equity' have become part of the lexicon of international development work in recent years, there is neither widespread agreement nor a common understanding of what these terms mean. This was evident at the Seminar; indeed, participants did not even discuss the meaning of such terms until the third day. A standard English-language dictionary definition of 'gender' refers to the masculine and feminine categories or sex (as in 'female gender'), and the words 'equality' and 'equity' imply a state of being equal and having the right to share opportunities and resources. But for some Seminar participants, the terms carry a more developed concept, often encompassing aspects of the relationships between men and women and implying that gender equality is more than just an end result.

Gender equality is both a strategy to achieve many objectives and an objective in itself.

Alan Silverman, UNICEF

N'Dri Assie-Lumumba, Professor of Women's and African Studies at Cornell University in the United States, gave an insightful presentation on the socializing influences of school and family on the development of gender roles. She explained gender as something that emerges from the space between men and women in which they interact and negotiate for resources and power. It is as a result of this interaction that gender roles of men and women in particular situations are actually negotiated and develop. This negotiation is influenced by a number of existing cultural and familial factors, but is ultimately what determines the sharing of power and responsibility between men and women.

For another Seminar participant, Steve Woodhouse, UNICEF Representative in Viet Nam, gender equality implies "an equal sense of responsibility that is expressed differently for each partner depending on the circumstance". Gordon Klopf, Chair of the NGO Committee in UNICEF's Working Group on Education, made the distinction between one's sex, which is biological and for most people immutable, and gender, which implies a corresponding set of behaviours that are learned and can therefore be changed.

For Historical Reasons, Gender Policy has Focused Primarily on Women

In UNICEF's policy papers on the subject of gender equality, the concepts have tended to be articulated in terms of women and girls, and in particular as they concern greater access for women and girls to social and financial resources. Gender inequalities manifest themselves in disadvantages for women and girls, and therefore the discussion within policy circles has been almost exclusively about women. One of the more important conclusions of the Seminar was that the terms and policies that now define gender equality need to be reworded and expanded to incorporate men as well.

In a policy paper, *Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women and Girls: A Policy Review*, endorsed by UNICEF's Executive Board in May 1994, concerns with women and children were clear. Its review of UNICEF programmes, as stated in the summary, "analyses the need for strengthened actions for women and girls, including mainstreaming of gender concerns, initiatives for the girl child and activities targeted at specific groups of women".

"The universal goals set by the World Summit, and adopted in the national programmes of action", the report goes on, "cannot be achieved unless girls are targeted equitably in programmes on child survival, development and protection. Not only does the setting of gender-sensitive targets become critical in the achievement of goals for children, it also provides unique opportunities to reverse the discrimination faced by girls in all stages of life.

It establishes the need to gather gender-disaggregated data on all facets of childhood development. For example, the achievement of the goal of universal access to basic education and completion of primary education by at least 80 per cent of primary-school-age children by the year 2000 requires that equal opportunities be provided to both girls and boys for school enrolment, reversing past and current neglect of girls, and that gender-sensitive monitoring of school attendance and performance be undertaken".

Specific mention of men in the policy review appears on page 11, where it is noted that "promoting gender equality implies a profound change in the socio-economic organization of societies: not only in the

PANEL 2

Involving Men in the Reduction of Gender Disparities and Prevention of Teen Marriages: The Case of Rajasthan

In many cases, men are involved in projects to achieve gender equality for women. In one case-study from Rajasthan in India, male village leaders and men in local non-governmental organizations and local government were involved in an effort to reduce gender disparity in education and to prevent marriages of young teenage girls. The case was presented to the Seminar by Sree Gururaja, Project Officer for Gender and Development, UNICEF New York.

Rajasthan is the second largest state in India, with a population of 44 million. It is also one of the poorest, with 40 per cent living below the poverty line. Close to 80 per cent of its territory is rural. The state has only 1 per cent of the country's water resources, and is therefore highly prone to drought. The infant mortality rate is 96 per 1,000 live births, and there is a ratio of 913 women for every 1,000 men.

Teenage girls marry early, and very few go to school. While there was a twofold increase in the literacy rate for women as a whole in India during the 1980s, no evidence of a similar improvement was recorded in Rajasthan. Girls' mean age of marriage was 16 as opposed to an average of 18 for India. Of the population of girls aged 15-19, 48 per cent were married, and only one out of 83 went to school. Boys and girls attend separate schools, but only 11 per cent of the schools are for girls and only 25 per cent of teachers are women.

After mass immunization campaigns in 1988-9 and the Year of the Girl Child in 1990, teams visited villages and talked with women about what they would like to see done next, and whether the need to seek solutions to some of their social problems was more compelling for them than the immunization programme. The result was a project comprising two objectives: one to reduce gender disparity in education by 10 per cent, and the other to eliminate marriages among teenage girls between the ages of 10-14.

The project was based on people-to-people contact and one-to-one communication. For each of five villages, teams of five women made visits, had meetings with village leaders, sang songs and provided entertainment for the youth. The teams went from house to house, where they administered a questionnaire asking respondents how many 14 year-old girls were in their village, how many went to school, and how many were married. Baseline data were collected for a five-year project in these villages, which was backed by the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA).

While the 2-3 day visits focused on awareness-raising, there were a few significant achievements, the most notable of which was that men became involved at all levels of the project. Some child marriages were delayed, and as a result of consultations with the male leaders in the villages, school enrolment for girls went up between July and September 1992. Enrolments increased by 179 girls in three schools in Alar District, 94 in six schools in Bassowar, and 52 in seven schools in Bikaner.

In a highly conservative society in which girls and women normally stay home and attend to domestic chores, men had actually let groups of women enter their villages and encouraged them to work for an improvement in the lives of their wives and daughters.

way women work, live and care for other members of their households, but also in the way men do, and in the way their respective roles in the family and community are articulated with the need to earn a living".

The issue of the role of the male as father is directly addressed in a section on gender equity in the family and community. "Recent studies on changing family patterns indicate that growing numbers of children are not benefiting from the resources of their fathers, to which they are entitled, and mothers must take full responsibility and carry the burden. Past UNICEF policies and programmes have not paid adequate attention to the role of fathers in sharing family responsibilities and child rearing. Therefore, to be gender-responsive, there is a need for special programme thrusts directed at promoting equity within the family and strengthening the parenting role of men" (page 14).

We've focused on women because of the historical realities of discrimination against them. This seminar is an important milestone in promoting change, particularly in the male gender role, to achieve gender equality.

Misrak Elias, UNICEF

The movement to secure greater gender equality has come about on both political and cultural frontiers. A broad range of women's organizations around the world have established women's rights as a priority to an extent never seen before this past decade. Much of the struggle has been over power, most specifically the fact that women tend to have far less of it than men. The first step was for women to secure their fair share of power and the resources needed for their own survival and that of their families. Only then, many women argued, could a just social and economic development take place.

That much of the movement toward and discussion of gender equality has come from women and has been about women is a natural outcome of actual disparities in political and economic power between women and men. There is an extensive history within the world's cultural and legal traditions that deprives women of equal rights to property, occupational opportunity and political power. It is this disparity that so many development projects have been trying to reduce.

While there are many who rightly point out that progress for women has so far fallen short of what is most desired, advances have nonetheless been both substantial and politically, culturally and economically significant. An international framework for progress in this area was provided by the UN Decade of Women during the 1980s, which gave impetus to a wide array of programmes for women. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) was adopted by Member States of the United Nations in1979, and has been ratified by 139 countries. Public awareness of CEDAW and implementation of the provisions of the Convention have, however, been slow.

For UNICEF, Gender Equality is Becoming a Family Issue

For UNICEF, the issues of gender equality are broad and varied in scope. While the organization has long been identified as an advocate for women and children, a full decade passed before the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) in 1989, now the world's most widely ratified human rights treaty (177 countries). Adhering to the principles of the CRC necessarily broadens the scope of UNICEF's efforts in recognizing that all children, both boys and girls, have survival, development, protection and participation rights.

In recent years, UNICEF has been criticized by some women's organizations for the effect that its lobbying on behalf of families and children has had on women's rights. By shifting the focus to children, it has been argued, some of the emphasis has been taken away from the urgent need for women to achieve equality. Until that happens, many claim, children will not get their fair share either.

However, following the International Year of the Family in 1994, there is increasing recognition within UNICEF that since men play a key role in the dynamics of intra-familial decision-making, a clearer understanding of these processes is needed, without which equality for women and the rights of children will not be achieved. Therefore, the vulnerability in the status of women and children in families, exacerbated by underlying stereotypical gender roles, should be addressed through dialogue and action that includes males through their life cycle.

III. Gender Roles: How Do They Affect the Child?

Families Are in Transition and Women Now Assume Increasing Economic Responsibility

"The idea that the family is a stable and cohesive unit in which father serves as economic provider and mother serves as emotional caregiver is a myth", Judith Bruce of the Population Council told Seminar participants. She and colleagues, Cynthia Lloyd, Anne Leonard and Patrice Engle, have studied different forms of families around the world from different perspectives over the past decades. On behalf of her colleagues, Ms. Bruce presented some of their findings at the Seminar. Many of those cited below can be found in their original form in the seminal study published recently by the Population Council, *Families in Focus: New Perspectives on Mothers, Fathers and Children.*

The conventional myths of family are well known and to a large extent universal. But economic and demographic changes in the world are making them increasingly unrepresentative of the variety of situations that men, women and children now find themselves in. The popular notion of the father as income provider and mother as caregiver is now being challenged by a number of trends in different countries. The rising cost of living and the disturbing effects of rapid urbanization on families have had a profound impact on how the family functions and how gender disparities have developed.

There is an increasingly high level of marital dissolution in less developed countries and rising divorce rates in the developed world. Non-marital childbearing is escalating, particularly among adolescents. This has contributed to a rise in the proportion of female-headed households in recent years, and a corresponding reduction in household and family size. At the same time, there is now a greater dependency of individuals within family structures — particularly children and the elderly — on sole income earners. In many places, men have been losing their traditional role as the economic provider as more and more women enter the workforce out of necessity. Many men migrate for work and are thus separated from their families, while others subsist on seasonal labour which does not allow them to be fully responsible for their families. Yet others are simply unemployed, or have left their spouses and children.

Women all over the world now contribute increasing shares of the family income. To cite the results of just a few studies: in Ghana, women are the primary earners in 33 per cent of the families surveyed; in Thailand and Nepal, women contribute 50 per cent of family income (taking all forms of production into account); in Peru, women are the primary earners in 29 per cent of urban households and 32 per cent of rural households; and in the Philippines, women's share of income exceeds that of men by 10 per cent. Women also work longer hours on average than men, largely because so many now combine roles as income earner and primary caregiver for children.

While they do not make as much money as men, women now have a degree of economic independence in many parts of the world that was unheard of just a few generations ago. But the overall cost of the family enterprise has also increased, thus necessitating greater investment of family income in children to cover the costs of schooling, for instance, as state support declines in many places, and to enable them to enter the modern wage economy. The result has been that more women now assume more of the burden for raising children and greater economic responsibility than ever before.

While demographic studies of certain trends that influence women and families have been undertaken, there remains a lack of solid information on certain other aspects that are now seen as critical to an understanding of how modern families function and how gender roles develop. Data are usually collected on households and not on families, and thus do not account for the diversity of family situations commonly found now in many countries. In a growing number of cases, for instance, family members do not all live under the same roof. There is also little information available on step-fathers and men who play a parenting role in the absence of the actual father.

Women's fertility and mothering to the age of 50 has been well documented, but much less understood are women's work and their productive contribution to family welfare. Male fertility and parenthood have been virtually untouched by research in developing countries, and thus the general concept of men and their roles has not included fatherhood. Little is known about children's actual living arrangements, family functioning or the dynamics of intra-family roles and relationships. The majority of research has focused on women and is not often disaggregated for boys and girls (although data are now usually disaggregated for

Sharing Family Responsibilities: the Extent to which Men and Women Contribute

TABLE 1 - Percentage of Childhood Years without a Father

Latin America/Caribbean		North Africa/Asia		Sub-Saharan Africa	
Region/Country	**Per cent**	**Region/Country**	**Per cent**	**Region/Country**	**Per cent**
Brazil	9	Indonesia	4	Botswana	36
Colombia	13	Morocco	4	Burundi	12
Dominican Republic	14	Sri Lanka	5	Ghana	29
Ecuador	7	Thailand	5	Kenya	27
Peru	9	Tunisia	2	Liberia	10
Trinidad and Tobago	17			Mali	8
				Senegal	16
				Zimbabwe	30

Note: This is an underestimate of the per cent of childhood years spent without a father because mothers living with a partner who is not the child's father are not included.

TABLE 2 - Wives' and Husbands' Average Monthly Income Contributions to the Household, South India

	Average Contribution in month in which wives' income is at a minimum (% of individual's total earnings)		Average Contribution in month in which wives' income is at a maximum (% of individual's total earnings)	
	Wife	**Husband**	**Wife**	**Husband**
Village 1	93	71	99	76
Village 2	80	66	83	73
Village 3	71	53	89	79
Village 4	100	85	100	86
Village 5	99	71	99	85
Village 6	100	76	100	76

TABLE 3 - Differences in Men's and Women's Weekly Work Hours, Ghana, 1987-8

Male	**Market work**	**Domestic work**	**Total**	**Female**	**Market work**	**Domestic work**	**Total**
Living with female	27.5	4.8	32.3	Living with male	24.5	20.9	45.4
Not living with female	30.7	9.2	39.9	Not living with male	20.5	19.9	40.4

Note: Because it is difficult to get a full accounting of time use, we assume that these figures represent an underestimation of weekly work hours. Nevertheless they are illustrative of gender differences in work hours.

TABLE 4 - Hours Spent in Child Care, Men and Women (per week)

Developed Countries				Less Developed Countries			
Country	**Year**	**Women**	**Men**	**Country**	**Year**	**Women**	**Men**
Australia	1987	5.8	1.6	Bulgaria	1988	4.3	1.1
Canada	1986	4.3	1.4	Indonesia (Java)	1973	7.2	2.6
Netherlands	1980	5.5	1.5	Nepal	1979	4.8	1.1
United Kingdom	1984	3.6	1.1	Poland	1984	4..4	2.0
United States	1986	2.0	0.8	Venezuela	1983	4.0	0.7

Source: Judith Bruce, Cynthia B. Lloyd and Ann Leonard with Patrice Engle and Niev Duffy, *Families in Focus: New Perspectives on Mothers, Fathers and Children*. Population Council: New York, 1995.

men and women). There has thus been very little work on either the man's role within the family as caregiver or role model for children, and even less on how men in the larger community influence child development.

Limited Data Have Revealed the Importance of the Male's Presence as Father in Child Development

The limited data that have been gathered are beginning to suggest some trends, however, and some indications of both the positive and negative impacts of the father on children and family. There are a number of factors that can be attributed as either cause or result of a father's absence or lack of support to a family, all of which have a profound influence on the physical, emotional and financial welfare of children. Research has shown that delinquency in child support payments from fathers who are either divorced from the child's mother or otherwise not living with her and the child is high all over the world. Fathers feel less obligated to support children when they are not married to their mother. There is also evidence that even among those men who migrate away from the family residence to work as a means of supporting their family, remittances dwindle over time and are often not adequate.

Patrice Engle, Head of the Department of Psychology and Human Development at California Polytechnic in the United States and a contributor to the Population Council's *Families in Focus*, reported that mothers tend to be the primary or sole support of families, even when the father is present, if he is unemployed, has children and partners in other households, is expected to make major contributions to sisters and other women in his kin-group, is disabled, drug or alcohol dependent, or withholds income for personal reasons. When fathers are not in residence with their children they do not feel they have a role other than as provider. And when they are no longer able to demand the respect their role once entitled them to based on gender alone, their attachment to and responsibility for children diminishes.

The father's influence on child development is far-reaching, however, and suggests that there is a greater role for the father beyond that of economic provider as conventional mythology implies. Studies have indicated that father and child become emotionally attached to one another even when the father spends as little as five or ten minutes a day with the child. Evidence suggests that they are not as widely involved or as influential as mothers in caring for the child's personal needs (hygiene, feeding, emotional comfort), though there has not been a lot of research in this area. In one study, based on close to 2,500 interviews conducted in Guatemala, researchers asked mothers which parent took care of the child when he or she awoke during the night; only in four instances did the father take charge. The mother saw to the child in all other cases.

Types of Fathers

- Biological
- Social
- Grandparents
- Uncles
- Step Parents

Father's Presence in the Family

Examples of Positive Effects

- Sex-role development
- Social adjustment
- Cognitive development
- Nutrition and health
- If father cares for children when small
- If father is warm and nurturant

Possible Negative Effects

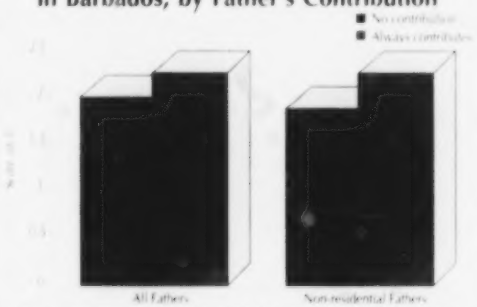
- Less decision-making power
- Women have increased decision-making when:
  - Female heads
  - Earn more income
  - Higher education

Possible Negative Effects

- Violence against women or children
- Examples: 59% of women from a survey in Mexico and 30% from Guatemala reported verbal or physical abuse.

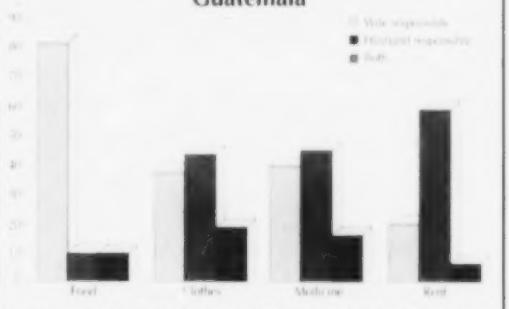
Patrice Engle

School Performance of 8 year-olds in Barbados, by Father's Contribution



Source: Brown, P., P. Engle and L. Townsend. "Women's Status in Barbados", Population Council, Russel Press, New York, 1994

Household decision-making: Guatemala



Source: Engle, P., "Influences of Mother's and Father's Income on Children's Nutritional Status in Guatemala", *Social Science and Medicine*, vol. 37, no. 11, 1993.

But fathers do play with children and assume a protective role toward child and family. The father's participation in child care tends to be more equitable when both he and the mother cooperate in economic activities, but in a number of countries this cooperation is hampered by cultural beliefs which assume that caring for children is not an appropriate role for a father or by mothers' inability to accept the father as caregiver.

When fathers are involved in a close and supportive relationship with their children, the results can be seen in improved cognitive development and performance at school. Again, Engle's studies conducted on children in Guatemala and Nicaragua revealed that when the father's money was contributed to the family, children ate better and grew more than when just the mother's income could be relied upon. In some countries, men attend parent-teacher meetings at their children's schools because the mother is illiterate or is either not allowed or not expected to assume responsibility in public life. By contrast, when fathers are absent or neglectful, children suffer. Judith Bruce cited a study conducted in Chile by Mayra Buvinic and three other researchers, which suggested that children suffer psychological harm and trauma when their fathers do not properly acknowledge them.

In virtually all societies, men form the majority of community and national leaders, who make decisions about how resources and power are allocated. They therefore have a profound influence on how children and families are supported by community and state services and how that support will affect the development of boys and girls and their gender roles as well as corresponding perceptions of them.

While little is understood about the actual details of the father's involvement in family decision-making in different societies, it is becoming clear that when the father is present in the family he often plays a key role in decisions that affect the well-being of the children.

Father's Opinions Affect Breastfeeding More than Mothers' Employment

► Percent of women who breastfeed if:

- Father strongly approves: 98%
- Father indifferent: 27%

Source: Littman, H., Medendorp and J. Goldfarb, "The Decision to Breastfeed: The Importance of Father's Approval", *Clinical Pediatrics*, 33 (4).

In one study conducted in the United States, where there is a higher awareness of women's rights than in many countries, researchers found that in those families where men reacted favourably to the prospect of their wives breastfeeding their children almost 100 per cent of them did so, but the figure was closer to 25 per cent when the men did not give their support. In the Philippines, to cite another example, a study revealed that only 14 per cent of mothers acted alone in making decisions about treating the respiratory illnesses of their children.

IV. Social Change and the Loss of the Traditional Family

As Pressures on the Family Increase, the Influence of the Male as Authority Figure Declines

One of the few broad social frameworks for understanding what is happening to modern families and the changing roles of men and women was offered to the Seminar by Patrice Engle. Some of the ramifications were developed further in a later presentation on the dynamics of family violence.

In an effort to provide participants with a continuum upon which to place different family situations, Engle suggested they look at modern societies as ranging from those that are tight in structure to those that have become quite loose in response to the forces of modernization. While she acknowledged that this continuum from tight to loose societies was simplistic and not responsive to the often more pervasive and determining factors of politics and class, the general idea provoked some thoughtful discussion. Both provide certain benefits to families and have certain costs.

Tight societies are those which have evolved most commonly in rural areas and are built on well-defined and well-understood systems of authority, mostly run by men. The father's role in these societies is to protect and provide for the family or community. They constitute what many would call more traditional families. The majority of families with which UNICEF has worked might be described as those produced by tight societies, and it is the transformation and disruption of the cohesion of these families which UNICEF is now struggling to address.

As human mobility has increased and the intimacy of the village or rural commune has given way to the more diverse influences of towns and then cities, the family structure has changed accordingly. Loyalties are no longer automatically bound to the family or community, but develop in response to a number of other influences — schools, cultural institutions, government services and the media — and the individual takes precedence over the group. These were described as characteristics of loose societies, in which there has been a dissolution of family authority and a growing diversity of sources of authority and potential roles for each family member. Loose societies are generally the more urban societies. Many of the problems that were discussed over the eight days of the Seminar, particularly those concerning adolescence, were most relevant to urban situations.

With rising numbers of women entering the workforce, the male role has somewhat diminished. His importance as economic provider is not as great as in tighter societies where he has control over resources (food and other essentials) and where women tend not to work and are therefore more dependent. Very often he has had to leave the family to find work, and very often he has not been able to find work, thus deflating his importance and authority even more.

The important consideration for those at the Seminar who were trying to understand more about what is happening to the male role in society is that in loose societies the male's traditional role has not only changed, but in many cases disappeared. In extreme cases, this has led to family violence as men become frustrated and try to assert an authority they no longer possess as well as to problems of chronic unemployment or alcohol or drug dependence. This, in turn, has increased the burdens on many mothers, who must now compensate for the diminished role of the male.

The Loss of Male Authority Can Lead to Violence

The growing problem of family violence was explored in depth by Michael Penn of the Department of Psychology at Franklin and Marshall College in Pennsylvania in the United States. His presentation complemented Patrice Engle's earlier discussion of social transition and its impact on families. In father-headed, authoritarian families, members tend not to internalize the values of the family because they are generally enforced rather than willingly adopted. By contrast, when rules are violated in situations of intimacy, violence is not necessary as a control device. Display of parental disappointment rather than violence is usually effective. When parents are taught to understand the limitations of their children, they tend to become less violent.

The stable community traditionally provided a 'transformative space' for the transition from childhood to adulthood. When 'transformative space' is effective, it allows all members of the family to see that they can contribute to this process. But with increased urbanization, the larger community has become fractured and indifferent, and that space has

PANEL 3

The Male Gender Socialization Project in Jamaica

Some of the more provocative research on the role of men in the development of gender roles has been undertaken recently in Jamaica and other islands of the Caribbean. At the Male Gender Socialization Project of the University of the West Indies in Kingston, research efforts have taken place in low-income communities in an effort to involve residents in a process of self-examination. UNICEF has provided some support for this project.

In recent years in Jamaica, there has been a steady decline of school enrolment among boys. The widespread assumption in much of Jamaican society has been that this decline can be attributed to the existence of unsuitable role models for adolescent boys. The most compelling of these has been that of local 'don men', who control local political machinery through their use or threat of violence. To find out more, researchers conducted ethnographic research in three communities in the Caribbean.

What they discovered about prevailing gender ideology suggests that there is more to the problems of young men than simply inadequate role models. In Jamaica, as in many cultures around the world, men are raised to be the economic provider. A man's pride is reinforced by his ability to support a woman, and an inability to do so results in a sense of shame. It is not enough for a man to be just a nurturer.

Over time, males have been socialized in the ways of the street, in the public domain outside the home. Long before the end of school, adolescent boys start trying to fulfil their obligations to earn money. In rural areas, they raise chickens and farm, but in cities they hustle and sell things. The informal sector is a path to quicker, greater opportunities than the official social system in which formal schooling plays such a vital part. Many, but not all, look to the success of the 'don men' as a model. They have money, power and material goods. Women, by contrast, are protected more by their families and are generally sent to school. Their domain has largely been in the privacy of the home. The thinking has been that boys are tougher and can survive better on their own, while girls need whatever advantages they can get in case they become pregnant and have no supporting father to help them along the way.

Those boys who do not drop out tend to focus on vocational subjects that may provide them with the skills to earn money in woodworking or masonry, while girls tend to specialize more in languages and fine arts. The result of this type of socialization is that when it comes time to find steady, wage-earning jobs, girls have greater opportunities than boys. They are more presentable and articulate to companies and businesses that put a priority on literacy and personal decorum. The evidence is that it is actually more difficult for boys to get jobs than girls, a reality that can be highly damaging to their sense of pride. There are also indications, however, that some boys eventually end up earning more than women if they become successful at whatever skill they have cultivated in school.

In their research in low-income communities, the ethnographers have been quite successful in stimulating discussions among men and women about some of the consequences of their socialization in their adult lives. They have been able to discuss family violence and the failures in their relationships more openly in some cases as a result of the research, and there are plans to carry the process further. The hope is that NGOs and neighbourhood groups will become more involved in the process and in time begin not only to promote change in attitudes toward and understanding of gender roles but also to stimulate some positive community action that will result in tangible improvements and a strengthening of pride.

shrunk to the dimensions of the family and ultimately the self. Community elders with knowledge of family and local histories and an authority based on honoured traditions have largely disappeared in many communities. In the absence of this higher authority, parents often resort to increased, often violent measures to control their children. Their children, in turn, have less and less respect for family authority.

It is in father-headed, authoritarian families that the most violence occurs, where power tends to be centralized and least connected to intimacy.

Michael Penn

Historically, the most prevalent family form has been the authoritarian one, with males at the head. The majority of perpetrators of violence have been male and, particularly in domestic situations, the victims have tended to be women. With democratization of societies, violence against women has been increasing because of the loss of male control of the family. However, in certain societies, researchers are seeing violence among lesbian couples, which suggests that the causes of violence may be in the dynamics of the relationship and not just in innate male aggression. This points to the unusual dynamic that as women are assuming greater economic responsibility for their families, they may be getting more frustrated and at times violent; while at the same time, men appear to be becoming increasingly violent as they lose such control.

It is generally the dual extremes of either high stress or insufficient stimulation that lead to violence. Research has revealed that in situations of ambiguous stress one tends to express frustration and anger on those closest. In communities where one's sphere of reference is limited to the family, this tends to be other family members. But when there is a convincing explanation for why something has happened that tendency is reduced, particularly if the cause is seen as something external to oneself or one's family. When that is the case, people often unite against the perceived threat.

Experience has shown, according to Penn, that while societal attempts to remove 'bad men' from family situations as a response to the problem of male violence may protect individual women, it does not change family behaviour. What has worked more effectively are efforts to go into communities and ask people if they want better families and community life, and to appoint men to monitor the potentially violent behaviour of other men. Men therefore become aware of the effect that their behaviour may have on family life (such as the effect of alcohol abuse) and become agents in the transformation of their own culture.

V. The 'New Man': Male Caretakers and Gender Equality

The 'New Man' is Both Nurturer and Caregiver for Children

A number of presentations focused on the notion of a 'new man' as one who incorporates and is able to express himself as nurturer and caregiver, attributes which in many societies are considered feminine. In societies in which men can either no longer provide full income support to families or in which women have assumed greater proportions of that responsibility on their own, the thinking has been that men need to develop a new set of responsibilities and aptitudes that would give them back an importance they had lost. If gender disparities on the women's side of the equation stem from their lack of political power and public life, their heavy work burdens and low wages, disparities on the male side come from underdeveloped negotiating and power-sharing skills when it comes to family decision-making, their tendency to be competitive rather than cooperative, and their relative lack of nurturing capacities. A new concept of masculinity needs to be developed, many participants argued, that incorporates these aspects and can be successfully modelled by males as part of a new socialization process.

Existing research at least raises the question as to whether or not many men have always needed to be more than just economic providers in order to maintain self-respect and contribute to family life. Various studies have indicated that men need more than just a role as economic provider to be loyal fathers. Thus, financial support for children diminishes from men who have either divorced the child's mother and no longer live with the family, live elsewhere for work, or are not married to the mother. Many need to be directly involved in child nurturing and care.

Ian Brown, one of the youth participants and a member of Fathers Incorporated, a Jamaican organization of men whose aim is to foster models of responsible fatherhood, said that his own interest in

PANEL 4

UNFEM Project on Behavioural Change 1991-93: Bolivia, Malaysia, Cameroon

People will change their behaviours when they see the benefits to themselves. Even then they will do so in response to their own norms and not those of development workers

Narrator of a video film on the UNFEM/Bahai projects

Through the use of drama and song, group conversation, testimony and consultation, local Bahai assemblies in each of these countries brought people of all religions together to discuss family problems in selected communities. The objective was to use better communication between men and women to open the way for people to improve what they saw as the most serious problems in their communities. The three priority problems the groups all came up with were the low literacy rates of women, the mismanagement of household finances by men, and the heavy workload of women.

As a result of the exchanges, spouse abuse and alcoholism have been reduced, and in Bolivia a woman was elected to a local government body for the first time. The men and women are now more aware of how their actions and perceptions contribute to these problems and they have a shared commitment to dealing with them.

The basic lesson of this experience: when women are allowed to articulate their concerns and men are free to listen voluntarily, they are willing to change.

developing his abilities as a caring father was provoked by a visit he made with his child to a local health clinic one day when his wife was unable to attend. He did not know what to expect when he went there because he had never taken his child to the clinic, but he realized the importance of doing such things as a father because "it was for the benefit of the child".

Many Men Fear the Loss of Their Role as Economic Provider

At the same time, it is unrealistic to assume that men or their wives will be satisfied with just being co-nurturers in the household if they cannot contribute income to the family. Much of the strength of the women's movement has come from their own realization and determination that such a role is not enough for many women either. In conversations that some participants had with members of one Jamaican organization devoted to cultivating positive role models for men, it was clear that men need to be economic providers, at least in contributing to household expenses, and are threatened by much of what is often presented as gender equality — particularly the prospect of losing this role to women.

Much of the promotion of new roles for men as nurturers has come from Europe and the United States, where an increasing proportion of mothers over recent decades — in the United States, the majority of mothers — have joined the labour force out of economic necessity. While many women derive professional satisfaction from their work roles, their participation in the labour market has also become necessary for family survival. The earning potential of a single adult family member — traditionally the man — is no longer sufficient in many cases to support the family. But whereas women have taken up earning as a new part of their mothering responsibilities, there does not seem to have been a parallel development of a new dimension in the man's role. Thus, women's groups and others have been energetic in encouraging men to assume a greater responsibility for child care, and that message is now reflected in the popular media. In one presentation, Gordon Klopf noted that as many as one-third of the pictures of men portrayed in media images in the United States now show them engaged in nurturing and child-care activities such as changing diapers.

But in other parts of the world this has not happened to the same extent, and in many not at all. Asseny Muro, UNICEF Project Officer for Community Development and Gender Issues in Tanzania, related that while there had been some progress on gender equality in public life in her country, virtually no progress had been made at all in the home. Thus, when Seminar participants discussed new roles for men, ideas often had to be adjusted to accommodate societies in which issues of gender equality are either very different or have not evolved very far. One example revolved around how men should behave at childbirth. While a number of participants felt quite strongly that fathers should actually attend their child's birth, others pointed out that tradition would prevent a man's physical presence in many societies. This prompted the first group to adjust their stand a little; they recommended that men be supportive in whatever ways are appropriate while their wife is in childbirth. What is important is the nurturing role of the father during the mother's pregnancy and the early life of the child, more than his physical presence at the moment of birth.

VI. Family Life Cycles: Family, School and Adolescence

Changing Gender Roles Throughout Life Need to Be Better Understood

The last decade's Child Survival and Development Revolution supported by UNICEF focused attention most closely on children under five years of age. This emphasis is reinforced with the majority of the Year 2000 Goals and, certainly, the Mid-decade Goals. However, the broader framework of the 'rights-oriented approach' promoted by the CRC, while including a 'goal-oriented approach', promotes commitment to wider sets of issues that affect the lives of boys and girls up to age 18. Thus, education, particularly for girls but for boys too, is an important right to ensure, as is the protection of all children from disease, including AIDS, from exploitation and from the effects of high-risk lifestyle behaviour of youth. Families, communities and society at large can and do devote energy towards mediating the developmental outcomes for their children. In order to support and further promote such actions, it is necessary to understand the different needs that children face in their cycle of development from early childhood through adolescence to adulthood. It is increasingly clear that in order to intervene effectively and foster gender equality, the changing roles of males as well as females through this life cycle to adulthood, and the dynamic interactions between them need to be considered.

Many of the problems of families were addressed by Seminar participants as they corresponded to different stages of the life cycle. The three stages that were discussed most directly were the pre-school, school-aged, and adolescent years. These are the periods during which most of the child's physical, psychological and cultural development takes place. Each of them presents different challenges to those who are trying to influence how gender roles are developed and how they can be changed to include a complementary role for males in families in promoting and achieving gender equality for and with women.

As Bruce Dick, Senior Advisor for UNICEF on Youth Health and Development, pointed out, adolescence is a key stage during which gender disparities exacerbate problems for both sexes, but certainly for females with unwanted pregnancies, sexually-transmitted diseases (STDs) and AIDS, problems which further perpetuate inequalities. Fathers, often from adolescence, and even grandfathers in many societies, are important role models of male responsibility for emerging generations when change towards more nurturing relationships can become the norm of expectations. In one case-study presented on a UNICEF project in Viet Nam, the grandfathers were the men who seemed most interested in the welfare of their communities' children. This response prompted the UNICEF office in Hanoi to consider supporting a network of grandfathers' clubs around the country (see Panel 1). In another case-study presented on the UNICEF-supported programme in Indonesia, the critical role of the young father-to-be as well as the supportive role of the new father were built into the planning, implementation and evaluation process of the Maternal and Child Survival, Development and Protection programme.

As Seminar participants sought to identify areas in which programmes could influence the development of equitable gender roles in order to increase the involvement of men in family life, it was suggested that the starting point should be to distinguish between those areas that policy can affect and those that it cannot affect. While policy obviously cannot affect the actual sex of the child or ethnicity, it can influence the way that these elements are socialized and the ways that both men and women react to them at different points in their lives. Family, school and community are the three domains in which the majority of the world's children receive most of their socialization. But there is now a growing number of children in many urban areas who are not part of any of these environments and who receive much of their socialization from the streets.

Family and School are Important Socializers, but are not Always Progressive or Consistent in Education on Gender Roles

The family is the most important socializer of young children; it is here that children begin to learn about gender. The family is profoundly influential when it functions properly, and profoundly influential when it does not; it is even influential by its absence in the lives of some children. Families regulate sexual behaviour and reproduction, do much of the child's socialization through setting and providing the norms and expectations for behaviour, roles and responsibili-

PANEL 5

Family Types: How Families Exercise Responsibility and Control Over Behaviour

Family violence expert Michael Pe[illegible] of Temple University in Pennsylvania in the United States identified four main types of family character that influence how children are raised and how authority within the family is expressed. Most of the families with which UNICEF-supported programmes deal fall under the 'authoritarian' category, in which gender sensitivity is often minimal and authority is normally exercised by males. In many parts of the world, it is the loss of authority in this kind of family due to changing economic conditions and perceptions of gender role that has generated violence by parents who are trying to compensate for their loss of control over the behaviour of family members. The four family types are:

- *Permissive*: High in warmth, low in control; generally tolerant of unusual behaviours
- *Neglectful*: Low in warmth, low in control; little responsibility is exercised in the emotional and social development of the child
- *Authoritarian*: low in warmth, high in control; gender roles and behaviour of family members are regulated by use of power (usually by the father, but also the mother and siblings), not by open communication in an atmosphere of intimacy
- *Authoritative*: High in warmth, high in control; least commonly found, this type does not rely on the use of power to negotiate, but on levels of intimacy and on an established set of values that define borders of intimacy.

ties, differentiated by gender. Families also provide care and promote the development, protection and, less often, the guided participation of their children in gaining self-esteem and responsibility. Families offer opportunities for their children to the extent that they can, and often do determine, by custom and need, how many children and which sex attend school or get certain jobs.

Quite often, what families teach children about gender roles comes into conflict with what they learn at school or outside the family in other settings. Educated, gender-role flexible parents who share childcare responsibilities and who both contribute economically to the family may send their children to a school that teaches their children much more traditional notions of gender roles that do not encourage such sharing of responsibility. The situation can also be the reverse, where the messages children receive at school about opportunities and responsibilities of males and females are in direct contradiction to more traditional examples they see at home.

But as has been indicated, there has been very little study of family dynamics that provides any solid understanding of how gender is taught or developed, or how these dynamics influence behaviour throughout the life cycle of males and females, including the critical adolescence and parenting phases. There is no shortage of myths or assumptions, and every individual has a personal experience upon which to rely for insight, but there has not been enough research of a qualitative kind on families. One of the reasons is that it can be very difficult for outsiders to get inside a family and speak openly and in depth about members' respective roles and sense of obligation; in most parts of the world, the family is a private domain. It has been much easier to study children in public spheres, primarily in schools.

The complex relationship between school, family and community was developed during the Seminar by use of some intriguing examples offered in a presentation by Professor Assie-Lumumba of Cornell University in the United States. All of the examples indicate the extent to which boys are encouraged to consider the diversity of options provided outside the home, while girls are guided toward positions in society that require less ambition and result in less power, public prestige and income — and, especially important, a more domestic role. Among them were the following:

- In the Belgian Congo — now Zaire — modern gender roles were heavily influenced by the missionary schools created for girls during the reign of King Leopold. The curriculum was designed to encourage men to work and women to stay home, thus creating a public space for men and a private one for women. Previously, boys and girls had been educated for gender-specific responsibilities in society that were complementary and relatively equitable. Women were responsible for agricultural production and men for cattle-raising and herding, both of which were essential for family and community survival. In the missionary schools, boys were taught French since that was the language of work. Women were taught in their native languages and were expected to remain at home. This pattern was repeated in other parts of Africa and now, even though some 70 per cent of Africa's women are still engaged in agricultural production, it is the men who are the agricultural engineers as they have received the appropriate education. Whereas they once had a viable public space in society, the institution of missionary education meant that most women could no longer participate in public sectors where income and education had become male terrain.
- In Lesotho, a small country in southern Africa, 70 per cent of university students are women. Yet they are not represented in positions of social authority in anything close to an equivalent percentage (such a phenomenon, though to a different degree, is also observed in the US). While female and male roles had previously been divided respectively between agricultural production and cattle, the development of South Africa's economy meant that many boys and young men went to work in the mines. The reason for the lack of women in positions of authority, despite the high percentage at university, is that women are pushed towards jobs with less authority or prestige — toward being a nurse rather than a doctor, for instance. What the example does not reveal is the extent to which women's preferences for or obligations of motherhood have distracted them from pursuing professional careers after their university education. It is unclear whether or to what extent this disparity is the result of school, family values, or a function of the existing job market.
- In Chile, it was found that boys and girls performed equally until university. At this stage, however, boys performed better because girls were encouraged to study subjects which did not demand the same academic rigour as those chosen by boys (sciences for boys, humanities for girls).
- In Togo, female teachers convey the message to girls that women should remain at home. Yet their very presence in the classroom as teachers challenges that notion.
- In the Côte d'Ivoire, in an example that speaks as much to community and family values as it does to those promoted in the classroom, it was discovered that boys normally walked long distances to school but were not tired or late. Girls, however, were both tired and late after walking similar distances because they had to do housework before going to school.

The assumption that modern education is gender-progressive is therefore not always sound. Professor Assie-Lumumba reviewed over 200 studies of educational reform and found that the focus tended to be on teacher training and the availability of textbooks, and not so much on what was being taught or the degree to which gender-unequal stereotypes were being reinforced.

The situation is complicated further still by the workplace conditions that young people currently confront. Most people change jobs several times in their lives, and are often faced with job opportunities that require knowledge and experience they did not gain at school or with jobs that are denied them because they do not have the proper education or skills. With the volatility of today's job markets, many participants pointed out, children must be educated for life, not for particular jobs.

However, the difference in gender roles and their corresponding demands on males and females does not always exert its greatest negative effect on women. Work done with Jamaican men by the Male Gender Socialization Project reveals that young men often have a more difficult time than young women in getting jobs because of the way they have been socialized (see Panel 3). Taught that they must be the economic providers and schooled in the harsh ways of the street, young men turn to ways of earning income that fall outside the formal job sector. Girls tend to be protected more and put through school, in part because many families realize from experience that women cannot always count on men to be reliable economic providers. When they go for job interviews, many young men from poorer neighbourhoods do not have the social skills or ability to dress in ways that make them attractive to prospective employers. While many men ultimately earn more money than women, there are now many who do not and thus fail to realize themselves as men in the eyes of society.

Fathers Appear to Exercise Significant Influence in School Performance: Failure for Boys in Brazil

Another example of a negative effect on outcomes for boys rather than girls was the excellent case-study presented by Fernando Barros, one of five researchers who authored a study on school failure in Pelotas, a city in southern Brazil. As this research provides significant information for use in policy and strategy change and offers a valuable example for future similar initiatives, it is presented here in some detail. While the study tested the effects of a number of factors on school failure, it produced some particularly provocative findings on the role of the father, as well as some striking differences between genders and ethnicities. Results indicating higher school failure rates for boys than girls, and for blacks than whites, are consistent with similar findings in other parts of the world. But the indication that the presence of the father played a significant part in preventing school failure was largely unexpected.

Pelotas has a population of 300,000, with a relatively wealthy central area and peri-urban slums. Virtually all births take place in hospitals. Approximately 180 of the 6,000 infants born each year die before their first birthday (30 per 1,000), but in the slum areas the rate is three times higher than in more affluent areas.

In 1982 a birth cohort study was initiated, which covered the entire 5,914 infants born in the city that year. All liveborns were identified and studied soon after birth. At the age of 12 months, a sample of 20 per cent of the children were visited at home. Further visits took place at mean ages of 20 and 43 months, with attempts made to visit all children. In the beginning of 1993 a new effort was undertaken to locate a sample of the cohort children by visiting the city's schools. Around 600 children were located in selected schools and information was collected on academic performance and specific morbidities.

The 1993 study showed that 36 per cent of the children had failed at least one year of school. Failure was much more frequent among boys (41 per cent) than girls (30 per cent). As expected, maternal education and family income were highly correlated with school failure: children with illiterate mothers were 7.5 times more likely to fail. Further analyses showed that maternal education was more important than family income as a reason for school failure. Another important finding was that black children were 2.5 times more likely to fail at school than whites.

Home visits were conducted in order to evaluate the cohort children, now around 12 years of age. The main objective of the new study was to further assess school performance and to investigate possible reasons for the observed gender differences. From the original 6,000 birth cohort, 1,100 were randomly sampled for the study. A team of 10 field workers — students and graduates in nutrition, nursing, social work and medicine — carried out the interviews after undergoing a one-week training course.

From this randomly chosen sample, 723 were located and visited (or 65.1 per cent). Only five out of the total number of children visited had never attended school, and another 14 had started school but dropped out. Among the 718 children still attending school, 325 (45.3 per cent) had at least one grade retention, 57 of whom (7.9 per cent) had experienced three or more retentions.

The proportion of children who presented school failure was analysed according to gender and

skin colour. A striking finding was the large differences between boys and girls, and between blacks and whites. Boys were 34 per cent more likely to fail than girls, an observation that had previously been reported for the Caribbean region and the United States. Also, in Argentina, 70 per cent of children referred to school counselling due to failure or learning difficulties were found to be boys.

Among the boys, school failure rates were highest for blacks. These children present other characteristics associated with school failure, such as belonging to low-income families, having less educated parents and living away from their father. The increased risk of school failure among black children remained highly significant even after controlling for family income, maternal education and presence of the father at home.

The pattern of higher failure in the early years was particularly noteworthy for the black children. It appears that these children face a major barrier in the first grade; those that do manage to pass have greater success in subsequent grades, though not to the same extent as white children. In the extreme income groups — the poorest and the richest families — gender differences can hardly be noticed, whereas they are quite marked in intermediate groups. It seems that very poor children tend to perform badly irrespective of gender because they accumulate a number of demographic and family risk factors. On the other hand, among upper-class children, the gender gap may be overcome through extra help provided at home, either by the parents themselves or by a hired private teacher.

Children living with their biological or adoptive father presented significantly lower proportions of school failure than those living without them. Lone-parent families present other characteristics that may also be associated with school failure, however, such as lower income and maternal education and a higher proportion of black ethnicity. Children whose fathers left home early in their lives — before the age of four — performed significantly worse at school than those whose parents separated later on. This was especially noticeable for boy children of separated parents, who were 60 per cent more likely to fail than those living with their fathers. Interestingly, the effect of the father's presence at home on school performance was still statistically significant after adjusting for family income, maternal education and skin colour. This suggests that the presence of the father *per se*, besides the improved socio-economic situation associated with his presence at home, may have a positive impact on the child's education.

The children's and mothers' opinions about the role of fathers at home were also positively associated with school performance. Children living with their fathers had a more positive attitude toward paternal roles.

In Adolescence, Socialization is Often Done by Peers

In his work with adolescents in Jamaica, Barry Chevannes, Head of the Department of Sociology and Social Work at the University of the West Indies in Kingston where the Seminar was held, discovered something vital to an understanding of adolescent males. Socialization, he learned, is carried out by the bigger boys in peer groups. They teach younger boys about sexuality and ethnic values, and they serve as role models. The difference between the younger adolescent boys of 12-14 years of age and the 16-18 year olds is vast, however, and the process of education by the older group is not always conscious or in the best interests of either the younger boys or society as a whole. But, nonetheless, this is how they learn.

Adolescence is a period of life during which development is rapid, and youth are vulnerable to an often bewildering diversity of urges, behavioural examples and potentially corrupting influences. It is also the period when children begin to develop into adults, when they start to establish independence from their families, and when they begin to explore their own ideas about life. Many of their greatest needs, as John Donohue of UNICEF's Evaluation and Research Office observed, are psychological and emotional. For UNICEF, which has devoted most of its efforts over the years to dealing with the physical needs of children early in life, this presents a set of challenges that requires both a different understanding and some innovative responses. In adolescence, problems tend to be behavioural in nature and are not easily addressed by conventional social services.

In Jamaica, as Chevannes explained, recent economic changes have exacerbated the situation for adolescents. During the 1960s and 1970s, youth clubs

played a positive role in the formation of adolescent boys, but now these clubs are just as likely to serve as breeding grounds for drug use or crime. The culture of cooperation has weakened. As a result of structural adjustment policies, subsidies to youth clubs and sporting activities have been cut. A flood of goods from outside the country has flowed in with free market policies, and encouraged the development of a materialistic culture stronger than ever before. Many adolescents crave certain material possessions as both a means toward and sign of status and success. "Materialistic values get promoted", said Chevannes, "and spiritualistic values get demoted".

Even if we adults think we know what's troubling our youth, let the youths say it for themselves. They are the ones feeling the hurt.

Gerard D'Abreau, SERVOL

The problems experienced by adolescents in Jamaica are not that different from those faced by adolescents in most parts of the world, especially in urban areas. It is well known that AIDS and other sexually-transmitted diseases are spread most prolifically by under-25 year olds, and that smoking, drinking and drug use and teen pregnancies are all serious problems of adolescence that can create societal burdens if they are not prevented or properly managed when they occur. But what is less well understood, particularly by those who are not themselves working directly with adolescents, is that many of the solutions to and the management of their problems do not and cannot come from the adult world against which many adolescents are actively rebelling. Many participants at the Seminar emphasized the importance of involving peers in programmes for youth and of listening extensively to what adolescents have to say about their lives.

Working with Youth: What Has Been Done?

In his presentation to the Seminar, Bruce Dick pointed out that gender is key to many of the issues confronting youth. Attitudes and behaviour relating to gender are framed or reinforced during this period of rapid psychosocial development. He provided examples of how UNICEF, partner agencies and various non-governmental and government partners are already collaborating through existing programmes to develop greater gender sensitivity among youth. This is being done while providing opportunities for access to knowledge, skills and services and a supportive environment, both the immediate environment of family and friends and the wider one created by policies and the mass media. These efforts have been further stimulated through Technical Support Groups (TSGs) established in the areas of youth health and development, school-based initiatives, sexual and reproductive health, and health communications and the media. These TSGs, comprising inter-agency and inter-regional partners, have focused on accelerating youth health activities in a set of strategic programming countries by bringing together operational and technical partners through a process of peer support and review. Dick provided several examples from African countries of youth programmes that have been influential in making adolescence a part of wider programming efforts in health and education, including the following:

1. National Task Force for Youth

In Mauritania, there is an Inter-Ministerial Task Force on Youth. Both Egypt and Senegal have sent scouts to help Mauritanian scouts carry out participatory research with youth and their parents to determine what priorities should influence youth policies.

In Uganda, explicit focus has been given to adolescents in UNICEF's Situation Analysis. Information on adolescents has been collected through the participation of and feedback from communities.

In Nigeria, UNICEF helped set up a Task Force for Youth involving various ministries, NGOs and community groups to provide support for the development of health policies for youth.

2. School Health Programmes

In Zimbabwe, an innovative approach to curriculum development has resulted in a skills-based health education programme that teaches youth about AIDS, family violence and other social problems that directly affect the psychological and social development of adolescents, their future health and that of their children. School materials and teacher-training programmes have been based upon the results of an initial series of focus groups around the country with young people.

PANEL 6

What Needs to be Done for Youth?

1. ***The Basics***

- Find out what is doable
- Take it to scale
- Mainstream youth into sectoral programmes
- For UNICEF programmers, be able to answer the Representative's questions:
  - What works?
  - Where has it worked?
  - Why did it work?
  - How much will it cost?

2. ***Programme Considerations***

- Select entry points. Choose those issues which adolescents are most interested in or which are politically and culturally most visible as a way of starting a youth programme or policy development process.
- Pay attention to process and content, particularly when priority is placed on interaction between different age groups and community and government interests.
- Partnership is essential. Collaboration among government, international and national organizations, communities and of course young people is important to establish credibility, financial and political support, and to make sure that programmes are responsive to the problems and perceptions of youth and their communities.
- Bring genders together. Males and females, whether parents, youth or government and organization representatives, need to discuss the issues and problems of youth and to plan programmes together (although there may also be a need for separate discussions as well).
- Develop monitoring and evaluation strategies. In some cases, intended programme outcomes may be difficult to measure (sexual behaviour change, for example), and it may be best to rely on the judgements of researchers and technical experts in the appropriate fields to have more confidence in the interventions and to monitor through coverage and quality control.

3. ***Priorities for National Action***

The young need information and skills (how to negotiate, deal with conflict, etc.) and services and referral (if these are unfriendly, kids will simply go off to black market healers and 'quacks', and get pills, shots, etc.). Some initiatives in these directions include:

- Form a national task force on youth issues
- Initiate policy review and development (of those that undermine adolescence)
- Focus on school health programmes (skill-based health education is particularly important)
- Encourage youth-friendly health services
- Start and support youth centres and youth organizations (to reach youth out of school and particularly vulnerable adolescents)
- Use media and communications more effectively (to inform and raise debate and dialogue about societal values and norms that undermine adolescents' health).

Based on a presentation by Bruce Dick, UNICEF Senior Advisor on Youth, Health and Development.

In Cameroon, there are health clubs in every school that provide students with an opportunity to discuss sensitive issues outside the classroom. They have been supported through linkages with local media.

3. Youth-friendly Health Services

In Zambia, a series of workshops are being held to elicit young people's ideas about the development of youth-friendly health services.

In Benin, the notion of youth-friendly health services is being promoted through the Bamako Initiative, which emphasizes health services that are controlled and financially supported by the communities themselves.

4. Youth Centres

In Mali, community centres provide a meeting place for youth to discuss various community issues, to obtain information and be listened to in a non-judgemental way.

In Zimbabwe, teenage girls who have engaged in sex for financial gain have joined together to go into bars to find others in similar situations to inform them of the dangers. The objective is to provoke discussion of potential health problems and enable a sharing of experiences.

5. Working with the Media

In Uganda, there is a pull-out section in the national newspaper aimed specifically at youth. This provides a medium through which a wide variety of issues concerning youth may be discussed.

In Senegal, the radio has been used to broadcast conversations between groups of children and adult community leaders around the country.

In South Africa, UNICEF has provided support to a new soap opera on national television which deals with health issues. Its aim is to inform and stimulate discussion and, of course, to entertain.

In UNICEF's Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Office, an Adolescent Girl Child Project has been initiated, which will promote a cartoon series modelled on the success of the Meena series started in Bangladesh (see page 32) as a way of raising issues relevant to youth.

Socialization of Adolescents is Often Complicated by Conflicting Messages from Peers and Adults

One of the difficulties of working with adolescents is that their worlds are changing so quickly and dramatically that it is often difficult to do the right thing at the right time. Jim Himes of UNICEF's Innocenti Centre in Florence, Italy, pointed out that there are key moments in their lives when adolescents are interested in certain subjects or preoccupied with certain problems and are therefore most likely to respond to efforts to draw them out or educate them. Those are the moments of opportunity for people seeking to help them, but they may not last very long. Nor is it always clear who or where the most appropriate and effective role models in society are at the time. Other adolescents may not be the most appropriate models if they themselves are engaged in the kinds of behaviour that should be discouraged — using drugs, committing crimes or getting teenage girls pregnant and then leaving them. Many adults are not always effective either: it is often adult males who transmit AIDS to younger women, and many of the most attractive role models to adolescent boys are gangsters rather than respectable citizens (like Jamaica's 'don men', who have accumulated power and prestige in urban neighbourhoods by their control of drugs and weapons).

It is helpful to remember that, despite all of the problems people experience in their lives, there is a basic human resiliency that enables most to manage reasonably well.

Bruce Dick, UNICEF

Even in the family, the job of educating adolescents can be difficult. Many parents are not comfortable about discussing sex with their children, and many smoke and drink themselves. In families in which the parents have had illicit liaisons or have abused one another physically or emotionally, it is very difficult to offer the best of role models for adolescents. As Patrice Engle pointed out during one of the working groups, children learn from what they see their parents do and not always from what their parents tell them.

The importance of adolescence to the larger issues of the male's role in gender equality in families is significant. Many of the behaviours that serve

to reinforce gender inequality when boys become men and fathers have their origins in adolescence. If boys are inculcated with certain ideas about the respective roles and responsibilities of males and females when they are very young, it is during adolescence that many are most vulnerable to certain forms of persuasion and that their most strident behaviours develop. Therefore, many of the problems in families and communities that result in gender disparity and create social burdens must be dealt with during adolescence.

While it appears that there is no shortage of role models for adolescent boys that encourage criminal activity or risky sexual practices, there are also models of responsible fathers and youth trying to lead purposeful lives. These are the role models that organizations like UNICEF need to spend more time promoting. One of the great advantages of working with adolescents is that they do learn quickly and change rapidly. Thus, with positive influences, even trouble-making adolescents can develop into responsible citizens.

VII. The Media as Socializer of Gender Roles

In Many Cases, Western Media Has Become Pervasive and Demeaning

One of the most powerful means of influencing how gender roles are perceived and developed is through the media. Dorienne Rowan-Campbell, a media consultant formerly with the Canadian Broadcasting Company, spent a morning with Seminar participants exploring some of the ways that media both distorts public perceptions of gender roles and can be used to encourage greater gender sensitivity. Participants discussed at some length the overwhelming prevalence of Western media, which has permeated human societies around the world right down to the smallest and most remote villages. As Patrice Engle pointed out, television has in some cases become an alternative parent.

Much of the discussion centred on individual participants' feelings about the positive and negative influences of Western media. Many felt that as important as it is as a means of reaching large numbers of people, it has a degrading effect on society and family life. TV watchers, a number pointed out, tend to become passive and disinterested in the world around them. More than that, media in general, but television in particular, has an extraordinary power to communicate and lend authority to social stereotypes, many of which reinforce notions about families and the respective roles of males and females which are by no means gender-sensitive. Western images often clash with local customs, and in some countries the messages conveyed by state media may be in conflict with the reality of daily life. One example contrasted the display of women wearing veils on state television in Egypt with the prevalence of women not wearing veils in day to day life.

Brita Ostberg, UNICEF Representative in Sri Lanka, noted that television is characterized by a brutalization of language and an insensitivity in the ways people relate to one another. Children see fights on television, but no one negotiates an end to them, no one ever seems to seek help, and adults are generally not called upon to resolve the violence.

The Women's Media Watch, a Jamaican organization which monitors media for biases against both females and males, showed the group a provocative film about the stereotyping of male and female roles. In one section, the film showed what it might be like if the traditional roles were actually reversed. While historically much of the bias has been against women — particularly as it depicts and sensationalizes either excessive violence against women or women as objects of male sexual desire — there have been cases where the trend has been the reverse. In one noteworthy example, an ad featured the following message to women as a warning against teen pregnancy: "If you really want to see how fast he can run, tell him you're pregnant."

Promoting Gender Equality through Local or Traditional Media

Participants focused considerable attention on the constructive possibilities of traditional or local media which more accurately reflect the traditions of people in their own cultural setting. Sri Lanka has local commercial television with its own soap operas, and Tanzania has Swahili language radio. In both cases, they present alternatives to the onslaught of Western media products and provide the opportunity to make programming relevant to local cultural norms. In India, puppet shows have been used to educate children about non-violent means of settling disputes.

One of the most successful television programmes in Asia is a cartoon series centred on a little girl named Meena. Developed in Bangladesh with over $40 million of international donor support and using sophisticated computer graphics, it depicts various family situations that bear on development themes. But when Seminar participants viewed an episode, there were widely diverging responses as to how effectively it promoted gender-sensitive roles. Much of individual viewers' judgements, however, depends on their preconceptions and expectations.

PANEL 7

"You're Not Gender-Sensitive Just because You're a Woman": The Experience of MTV

One of the most revealing exercises of the Seminar came during a workshop session on day six devoted to how the media conveys stereotypes about both men and women. It was one of a small number of participatory exercises at the Seminar, but its impact was in many ways much greater than other, more formal academic presentations.

The group as a whole was shown a music video from MTV (music television), in which a man is seen gyrating his hips in sexual provocation of a number of women. The women act as though provoked. The clip lasted a few minutes, and the group was then divided into smaller groups, one for the men and one for the women. The men were asked to admit how they reacted to the film clip, and the women were asked to predict how the men would react. The response was highly revealing, and largely unexpected by both groups.

The men agreed that the film was neither particularly erotic nor provocative, and that for the most part they did not react to it one way or the other. A few did find certain parts of it erotic, but as a whole it was not the kind of film or message they responded to. As men, all had been exposed to similar imagery and suggestion many times in their lives, and found that these were not the kinds of images that got them excited about women in any way.

When the women were asked to predict what the men would say, the responses included the following:

Sexy — a turn on
Looks good!
Good-looking woman
Just having fun
'Cool stuff'
Portrays women as sex objects
Boy I wish I was there to touch and feel

The men were quite surprised by the unanimity in the women's response, and a few were visibly upset. A couple of the men thought the women were joking, and some of the women later admitted that they had heard one of the men say something like 'great stuff' as the groups separated and therefore had not taken it too seriously.

But the discussion that followed was quite serious, and illustrated the extent to which women make assumptions about male attitudes toward women that are often simply not reflective of the way men really feel.

A couple of the men were offended by the thought that after a week of participating in the same workshop many of the women would think them so crude and not give them credit for being more dignified and sensitive. One woman said she did not feel that the particular men at the Seminar would react that way, but that men in general would. It highlighted the startling difference between the way many women perceive their male partners and friends and the way that certain stereotypes of men make them react. It also revealed the extent to which many men do not react to physical imagery of women in purely physical and sexist ways; some of the men felt that they might have if the film had been truly erotic and not simply crude.

Several of the participants, both male and female, were shaken up by the exercise when they left for lunch, and discussions continued afterwards. When asked later, some of the women said that in some ways their reactions were not serious and it was something of a joke, but that on another level the way they reacted had been deeply disturbing to them.

Earlier in the Seminar, Janet Brown of the Caribbean Child Development Centre had remarked: "You're not gender-sensitive just because you are a woman."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

VIII. The Challenge of Programming for Gender Equality: How to Involve Males

Show Them What Is In It for Them

The challenge of encouraging men to assume more of the responsibility for nurturing their children and sharing their wives' or partners' workloads demands collaboration and open-mindedness between men and women. Arguments based on moral directives to men about their social obligations or attempts to shame them into action will not work in most cases, and in many may actually encourage active resistance. Partly in the interest of avoiding what has been in many instances a highly emotional and political debate about gender equality that often focuses on how much responsibility and little power women have in contrast to how little responsibility and how much power men have, a number of participants concluded that the best way to proceed was to identify for men what they would gain from participating more fully in the lives of women and children.

Appeals not only to their sense of self-interest but their sense of pride as providers for their families and communities were judged to be the most effective ways of involving men. In the case-study of the *Facts for Life* project in Viet Nam presented by Steve Woodhouse (see Panel 1), men became responsive when they began to understand that by assuming greater proportions of the mother's workload and paying more attention to the developmental problems of their children, health care costs would decrease and perhaps even family tensions might be reduced.

On a very different but no less critical level, men in power can be prompted to take action in the interests of justice and greater gender equality in families. In Jamaica, both Houses of Parliament recently passed a Domestic Violence Bill. One of the women who heads the Crisis Centre for Women, a hotline for women victims of domestic violence, pointed out to visiting Seminar members that many were surprised when the bill went through. They found it unusual that it would be passed by men, who are normally the perpetrators of violence against women. But proponents of the legislation discovered that one of the reasons that the men had not previously sponsored such a bill was that they did not perceive domestic violence as a social problem. Whether this was because they accepted domestic violence as part of the status quo, had never thought about it or had not pursued such an agenda out of embarrassment was not clear. Nor was it apparent whether or not they had passed the legislation out of real concern or out of fear of political embarrassment. What was clear, however, was that the men in power had been persuaded to pass the legislation.

Many men strongly object to the stereotype of men as absentee or poor fathers, when they know they are good fathers and spouses.

Barry Chevannes

What emerged in group discussions at the Seminar — again and again — was the importance not just of enlisting men in the pursuit of gender equality for women, but of actually engaging them in conversation about their problems and how certain objectives might be of benefit to them as well as their children. The work that came closest to achieving this objective has been carried out by the Jamaicans involved in the Gender Socialization Project (see Panel 3), in which a number of the ethnographic researchers who interviewed men at length became much more sensitive to mens' problems as a result. The research gave a general sense that many of the stereotypes about the degenerate role of men in Jamaican family life were based on myths rather than reality, and that the reasons for the difficulties many men have in upholding their responsibilities as fathers were neither well understood nor properly acknowledged.

Encourage Them to Communicate with Each Other

One of the most compelling motivations for the young Jamaican men who formed Fathers Inc., the group working to foster positive role models for young fathers, was the degree to which a number of women's organizations portrayed the Jamaican man as irresponsible and uncaring. The emergence of the organization was a direct reaction to these prevailing attitudes, and perhaps a necessary step toward the day when organizations will be differentiated less along gender lines and will be able to work together toward more integrated concepts of gender equality in families.

There was also a sense that men needed opportunities to work out some of their problems with each other. Just as women have tended in many cases to

PANEL 8

Field Visits

In order to gain a better idea of how different kinds of organizations are dealing with gender issues, Seminar participants spent a morning visiting organizations in Kingston, Jamaica. After several days of discussion and informed presentations from various demographic and academic experts, group members had a chance to visit programmes and meet both the organizers and the men, women and youth who participate in them.

1. *Woman Inc., which deals with domestic violence; Women's Centre of Jamaica Foundation, which promotes responsible behaviour for teens around sex and pregnancy*

Seminar participants met with administrators and counsellors of Woman Inc., an organization that provides counselling, a hotline service and shelters to women who have been victims of domestic violence. Many women were dependent upon men because they had no financial independence; men were often insecure in their role and were afraid of losing their partner. Participants learned that it was often single mothers who spoiled their male children. As adults, these males tended to seek out mother substitutes in the women they married and became violent when their partner exhibited independence and devoted less attention to them than they expected. In recent years, organizers noted, there have been signs of progress in the larger society. Recently, a law on sexual harassment was passed in Jamaica by male politicians, and there are now rape counsellors in the police departments of various parishes.

The group then visited the Women's Centre, which provides schooling and counselling for teenage girls who become pregnant and drop out of school. A high proportion of these girls later return to school, and some attend classes at the centre with their husbands. The centre counsels them on how to talk with their families about their pregnancy, how to prevent future pregnancies, and how to care for their newborns. While opposed when it started in the late 1970s by those who thought it would encourage more teen births, it has turned out to be highly successful and has contributed substantially to a reduction in the rate of teen pregnancies.

2. *Sistren Theatre Collective, a grass-roots educational NGO*

Sistren is an independent cultural organization that uses drama as a way of confronting the public with problems facing women and children in families. Participants saw skits on family life involving old and young, and follow-up workshops in which the stereotypes portrayed in the skits were discussed. They presented a powerful means of involving children, both as audience and participants. Family scenes were acted out that portrayed various ideal families, and were then contrasted with the kinds of families that children actually lived in. The process showed children that what they believed was a good family life was not really the kind of family life that they experienced.

3. *Fathers Inc., a support group of fathers; teleconference discussion with Caribbean facilitators for 'Men and their Families'.*

The group met with members of Fathers Inc., a men's organization from Jamaican neighbourhoods who are worried that the public image of fathers is growing increasingly negative. They decided to make public their own roles as nurturing fathers and use it as a way of not only demonstrating that there are more men who assume caregiving roles than is commonly assumed, but as a model to other prospective fathers in Jamaica.

At a teleconference conversation among men from five islands in the Caribbean, participants listened to some honest conversations about how men often feel about gender equality. They discovered that many were uncomfortable with the notion of gender equality, particularly when it meant that women may be in charge of family financial resources. As the traditional income earners, men felt threatened by the potential loss of their role.

A fourth group visited research sites of the Gender Socialization Project at the University of West Indies (see Panel 3).

develop solidarity networks with other women that do not include men, the message Seminar participants heard from many of the men they talked to in different projects in Jamaica and other countries in the Caribbean was that men needed to start talking to other men about gender issues. This has begun, perhaps most notably in the United States, where male retreats and active campaigns encouraging men to be more nurturing have achieved social significance in the past few years. It is now happening in Jamaica and the Caribbean as well.

One of the group visits for Seminar participants was to a school for pregnant teenage girls run by Women, Inc. in Kingston. The organization provides pregnant teenagers with a place where they can learn more about their future lives as mothers from the time they become pregnant to the time they give birth. At that point, many will return to the regular school system. The centre offers these girls the opportunity to continue their education and, with the knowledge and awareness gained in the process, to avoid repeat pregnancies. As part of the programme, young girls and boys attend sex education classes, which are run by women. A few of the participants, however, felt that there are certain issues of male sexuality that most boys would only be comfortable speaking about with other males.

In very many places around the world, discussion about more caring roles for men has not yet begun, and perhaps the biggest challenge to Seminar participants was to find socially and politically acceptable ways within the different cultures in which they work to initiate this process. Brita Ostberg, UNICEF Representative in Sri Lanka, noted that she had started encouraging non-governmental organizations and government workers to be more inclusive of men as long as four years ago. To begin with, people acknowledged her pleas with vague nods, but little beyond that. Now, after some years, they are starting to take her more seriously. The process takes time, and real change will not always come in response to quick campaigns.

IX. What Can UNICEF and Others Do?

Encourage Greater Participation of Men in Existing Programmes and the Development of New Concepts of Masculinity

The effort to promote greater gender equality in families by exploring new roles for males is one that governments, non-governmental organizations, communities and families will have to make together if progress is to be made. While most of the discussion about what to do toward this end focused on ways that UNICEF could adapt its programmes, many of the points made by participants are germane to efforts by others who might work in collaboration with UNICEF.

For UNICEF programmers, two main guiding objectives emerged from the Seminar. The first is to involve men more than they have been in pursuing achievement of the development goals supported by UNICEF. The examples from Viet Nam and Rajasthan in India fit this objective most closely (see Panels 1 and 2). The second objective is to seek ways to encourage the social development of gender roles for men that are more responsive to the changing roles of individuals in families and societies than the traditional image of man as provider. Existing service programmes can involve men in their communication and service-delivery efforts. Thus, initiatives in Zambia to improve and target services have resulted in the participation of couples in the STD treatment programmes for women, a critical step for an effective outcome. Where such interventions involving both men and women can be undertaken in the same project, UNICEF can consolidate resources and efforts. However, other crucial initiatives will be needed in addition to the direct pursuit of goals — initiatives that are educational in intent and rely on UNICEF's experience as advocate and collaborator with various media.

Many of the participants agreed that one of the first and least expensive exercises they could all do when they returned to their countries of work was to examine existing programmes to see how well they either involved males in families or were sensitive to male concerns. Some of UNICEF's current efforts to improve the welfare of women and children, even some of the more successful ones, may not be supportive of this effort to encourage a more nurturing role for men. In some cases they might even run counter to it. Alexia Lewnes, a Seminar observer, currently writing a promotional brochure for UNICEF on the male role in gender equality, had just spent two months in Morocco researching a project on oral rehydration therapy (ORT). There, she reported, UNICEF supports a project in which boys instruct women on how to use ORT, thus reinforcing the notion that women are the only ones who can do it. Gretchen Goodale, UNICEF Senior Programme Coordinator in Bangladesh, noted that a similar initiative had taken place there as well.

In an effort to give participants a framework for action at national and local levels, Bruce Dick offered a series of generic questions to consider and actions that could be taken. His focus was on programmes for adolescents and youth (see Panel 6).

Some Key Questions for Programmers

As individual groups discussed how to incorporate the role of men into the larger objectives aimed at improving the lives of women and children, a number of considerations arose, including the following:

- Given financial and staff time restraints, how far can UNICEF offices go in altering existing programmes to incorporate the role of men?
- Should UNICEF build in an awareness of males in families across programming sectors? Or should there be special programmes for men?
- Should UNICEF focus on a small number of projects which can serve as bridging programmes to a future, broader focus on the role of males in families?
- Should UNICEF concentrate on two or three goals relevant to the reduction of gender disparity for women, and aim to specifically involve men in this effort?
- Are there other areas not directly related to existing goals in which UNICEF might advocate greater male involvement in families?
- To what extent can UNICEF really become involved in the behavioural problems of adolescent

males, such as drug abuse, violence and promiscuity?

- How far can UNICEF go in incorporating the role of males in families into its programmes, given its larger mandate to work on behalf of women and children?

- Can UNICEF advocate for a more sensitive appreciation for the concerns of males in families without appearing to compromise its commitment to women and children?

- Should UNICEF refer to fathers and mothers, or would it not be better to refer to either families or adult caretakers of children?

- At a corporate level, should UNICEF have a specific policy on the role of males, or should it simply broaden existing policies for a greater inclusion of males?

When Possible, Alter Existing Programmes Rather than Create New Ones

All of these questions came up in discussions at the Seminar, and while no consensus emerged in answering them, the group did tend to favour efforts to alter existing programmes over the creation of new ones, to modify existing policy statements and advocacy materials such as *Facts for Life* to incorporate the role of males, and to begin to articulate gender equality in terms of families rather than either men or women.

The underlying premise behind much of the discussion about how to modify existing programmes was that the only way to solve or ameliorate the problems of children is to include males and, when necessary, their particular perspectives and problems.

The ways in which individual UNICEF offices and others might respond became apparent in the final exercise, when participants were asked to write up individual work plans. What emerged from the exercise was that a number of UNICEF offices, governments and NGOs are already sensitized to the important role played by males. In some cases, they have already started looking at the role of men.

- In Tanzania, the office is preparing a new five-year programme that will incorporate the role of males in initiatives for parenting roles, gender socialization and violence against women.

- In Sri Lanka, the Representative plans to undertake a gender analysis across programme sectors to account for differences between boys and girls, and to identify areas in the Situation Analysis where more data are needed on boys and the role of men.

- At a regional level in South America, UNICEF works with churches in 13 countries. One of the proposed initiatives was that UNICEF could work through that network on gender issues concerning men and adolescents.

- In Jamaica, Fathers Inc. will continue the work it is already doing. It will work towards incorporating a 'male' perspective into university curriculum and introducing a course on adolescence.

- In Romania, the office will include males in existing family education programmes as well as in the child survival and development programmes; interest was also expressed in establishing a relationship with Jamaica's Caribbean Child Development Centre to develop projects that focus directly on the role of men as caretakers in the family.

- The Minister of Social Welfare in Guinea-Bissau will report back to the Council of Ministers in her country as a way of introducing the subject of the role of males to government planning.

- In Iran, a gender analysis of the UNICEF programme has already been carried out. Two and a half years ago, the office started a programme on the role of men in family planning, and a year and a half ago completed a knowledge, attitudes and practices (KAP) study on gender. These and new initiatives will be discussed with government to strengthen the partnership in including the role of males.

- In Egypt, the UNICEF office intends to analyse their Mid-decade Goal effort to see where males can be brought in more effectively. A special focus will be placed on the problem of early marriage in upper Egypt and a new focus will be given to youth programmes as well as the use of television to discuss gender topics.

- In Indonesia, the plan is to debrief government partners and collaborate on the review of existing data for information on the role of men in families; the gaps identified can then be integrated into data collection methods so as to lead to a short-, medium- and long-term plan of action to incorporate newly identified male roles.

- In Bangladesh, in addition to examining the existing programme and Mid-decade Goal effort, the issue of child labour will be reviewed from the perspective of the roles of boys and girls; school-based health education programmes and youth programmes in general will also be reviewed to incorporate both genders.

- The UNICEF Training and Staff Development Section in New York will highlight the role of males in its child rights training.

X. RECOMMENDATIONS

Following are some basic recommendations that came out of larger group discussions. They are intended to provide some general guidelines for country offices as they attempt to develop programmes that strive for a gender equality that is inclusive of males and relevant to the process of achieving some of UNICEF's goals.

I. More Focused Analysis of the Role of Males

1. *In the Situation Analysis, disaggregate between males and females at different stages of life* and include additional data on parenting (who makes decisions in the family) and early childhood.

2. *Focus on qualitative research and community process.* The data that is most needed is qualitative, and focuses on relationships and decision-making within the family. By involving men and women in the community in the gathering of this information, UNICEF and its partners can use the process itself as a means toward greater gender equality based on increased understanding between men and women.

3. *Develop a Life Cycle approach for boys as well as girls* that will focus on the gender socialization needs and opportunities that correspond to pre-school, school age and adolescence.

4. *Within the framework of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, UNICEF has tremendous opportunities to direct action with adolescent boys and girls.* More in-depth review is necessary in this area if UNICEF and other organizations are to address the complexity of problems that adolescents now experience in many parts of the world — and particularly in urban environments.

II. Policy and Action for Families

5. *Adapt existing policy on gender* to reflect a concern with gender equality in families that will be inclusive of males.

6. *UNICEF programming and advocacy should reflect the fact that both women and men are caretakers of children* who under current circumstances in most parts of the world fulfil this role with difficulty. Both need to be seen as caretakers as well as economic providers for children if gender equality is to be promoted.

7. *UNICEF should continue to support information exchanges and the sharing of experiences* between international organizations, governments and non-governmental organizations on the strengthening of families, including men as crucial partners.

8. *UNICEF should promote with governments the development of a school curriculum that focuses on family life and educates girls and boys about gender roles.* Girls need to be more aware of the economic aspects of motherhood and boys need to be made aware of an expanded concept of masculinity that encompasses nurturing and fatherhood.

9. *The focus in education should not just be on the school environment but also on key actors in a child's environment that are most influential.* These should include fathers, step-fathers or males who play a parenting role for part of a child's family life.

10. *Advocacy and programming for youth and women's health* should take into consideration Recommendation 2.(e) of E/ICEF/1995/12/Rev.1, *UNICEF Follow-Up to the International Conference on Population and Development:*

> 2. "Encourages UNICEF to continue:
> (e) To strengthen its strategies, advocacy, and operational programming in the areas of Women's and girls' empowerment, CEDC, Children and women in emergencies, water supply and sanitation, the role of men in the family, and other cross-cutting themes to be supportive of the principles and priorities laid down in the ICPD Programme of Action.

11. *Follow-up on workplans with UNICEF country offices* that were represented at this Sixth Innocenti Global Seminar in Jamaica.

ANNEX 1:
AGENDA OF THE SIXTH INNOCENTI GLOBAL SEMINAR

1. Sunday, 7 May

Evening

Welcome and introductions
(Seminar organizers and University of West Indies)

Overview of Seminar
(Misrak Elias and Alan Silverman)

---

2. Monday, 8 May

Theme One: Cross-cutting Issues
The sessions on the first day are cross-cutting and underlying. Seminar participants will be asked to continuously refer back to the issues raised in these sessions.

Morning

Global Initiatives
The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), and the Goals for the '90s: How can they help us move forward in our work towards achieving gender equality in families? Why is a special e mphasis needed on the role of males?
(Jim Himes and Misrak Elias)

Afternoon

Gender Roles and Relationships within Families
Culture and Social Dimensions

- How does culture affect gender equality? What regional and country variations exist?;
- How families are changing: a look at family typologies;
- The dilemma of remaining "culturally sensitive" vs. working towards changing attitudes and behaviours in favour of gender equality;
- How do men and women contribute towards maintaining gender inequality?;
- How does Article 3 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child concerning "the best interests of the child" affect how we should approach gender roles and relationships?

Economic Dimensions

- Poverty and the feminization of poverty;
- Work and the roles of males and females;
- Gender discrimination and child labour/child w ork issues
  (Judith Bruce and Jim Himes)

---

3. Tuesday, 9 May

Theme Two: Examining the Role of Males in the Life Cycle

Morning

Early Socialization: The Family Setting

- The role of fathers and other males in parenting and caretaking;
- The role of male siblings;
- The effect of different family configurations on early socialization;
- Gender differences in nurturing and providing development opportunities;
- Why are or are not males involved in early socialization? (Patrice Engle)

Afternoon

Early Socialization: Case-studies

The case-studies will present experiences of studies, programmes and/or policies which have attempted or are planned to positively reinforce or change the role of males in early socialization of the child.

Case-studies:

- Indonesia - planning framework (Friedhelm Betke)
- Jamaica (Barry Chevannes and Janet Brown)
- Turkey (Giovanna Caravaggi)

4. Wednesday, 10 May

Morning

Primary School Age: The School and Community Settings

- The influence of schools in determining gender roles and the need for transformation;
- Teachers: how does their treatment of boys and girls differ and affect how boys and girls view themselves and others? Are there differences between male and female teachers?;
- What are the gender biases of curricula and support materials?;
- Why do families send or not send boys or girls to school? Who makes the decision?;
- What factors are related to the learning achievement and school retention of boys and girls, especially family and school factors?
  (N'Dri Therese Assie-Lumumba)

Afternoon

Primary School Age: Case-studies

The case-studies will pres ent experiences of studies, programmes and/or policies which have attempted or are planned to change the role of males (teachers and/or students) at primary school age.

Case-studies:

- USA (Gordon Klopf)
- Brazil (Fernando Barros)
- India (Sree Gururaja)

5. Thursday, 11 May

Morning

Adolescence into Adulthood: Moving into Broader Society

- How young people begin to assert their gender roles;
- Sex and sexuality: Who makes decisions and how are they made? What are the consequences for pregnancy and early parenting as well as HIV/AIDS?;
- What influences gender roles during adolescence? Who are the role models? What influence do schools, peer groups and youth organizations have?;
- What differences does the family make at this age? Does the presence or absence of the father or mother make a difference?;
- How does the work setting influence gender roles?

(Bruce Dick)

Afternoon

Adolescence into Adulthood: Case-studies

The case-studies will present experiences of studies, programmes and/or polices which have attempted or are planned to positively reinforce or change the role of males in adolescence. Case-studies:

- Viet Nam (Steve Woodhouse)
- Africa (Bruce Dick)
- Caribbean (a panel presentation: Barry Chevannes, Doris Watt, Hermoine McKenzie, Janice Jackson and Gerard D'Abreau)

Evening

Optional discussion

How can organizations such as UNICEF become good examples of father/male friendly institutions to support gender equality in families?

(Misrak Elias)

6. Friday, 12 May

Morning

Field Visits

The field visits will be to sites within or close to Kingston which involve programmes designed to improve gender equality in families.

Afternoon

Discussion of Field Visits

The groups will present their findings and observations. Discussion of lessons learned will be held in plenary.

7. Saturday, 13 May

Theme Three: Special Topics

Morning

The Role of the Media

- The globalization of the media and its influence on the role of males and females;
- How the media presents gender roles: television, radio, movies, advertising, posters and print media;
- Special media programme efforts, such as Meena, Plaza Sezamo, soap operas;
- How traditional media, such as street plays, can begin to influence gender roles;
- The influence of modern electronic games in gender roles;
- How violence in the media is presented as concerns gender

(Dorienne Rowan-Campbell)

8. Monday, 15 May

Morning

Violence in the Family

- What are the links among violence in the family, community and state?;
- What are the effects of male violence on women, boys and girls?;
- What are the gender issues behind the perpetuation and initiation of the culture of violence?;
- What cultural variables, such as machismo, come into play?;
- How can we move towards respecting differences between genders and avoid violence?;
- Methods and approaches that have been successful in dealing with domestic violence.

(Michael Penn)

Theme Four: Roles, Recommendations and Follow-up

Afternoon

The Role of Partners in Working Towards Achieving Gender Equality in Families

Participants will divide themselves into groups to examine the role these partners may play in achieving gender equality in families, particularly towards improving the role of males:

- UNICEF and multi/bilaterals
- Governments and public institutions
- NGOs
- Universities and research institutions
- Schools
- Youth groups

9. Tuesday, 16 May

Morning

Where Do We Go From Here?
Participants will discuss and come up with recommendations for various partners to move forward in working towards achieving gender equality in families with emphasis on the role of males, making special reference to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, CEDAW and the Goals for the 1990s.
Recommendations will be at the policy, programme and research levels.

Afternoon

Individual Follow-up Plans and Seminar Evaluation
Participants will work individually to make a follow-up plan for themselves to work towards implementing some of the Seminar recommendations. These will be shared with other participants.
An evaluation of the Seminar will be completed.

Closing
(Marjorie Newman-Williams)

ANNEX 2:
PARTICIPANTS AND INVITED SPEAKERS

- *Dilwar Ali Khan*
  Senior Programme Officer
  UNICEF Lagos
  Nigeria

- *N'Dri Therese Assie-Lumumba*
  Cornell University
  New York, USA

- *Fernando Barros*
  University of Pelotas
  Brazil

- *Friedhelm Betke*
  Project Officer, Planning and Social Statistics
  UNICEF Java
  Indonesia

- *Krishna Bose*
  Evaluation Officer
  UNICEF NYHQ

- *Ian Brown*
  Fathers Inc.
  Kingston, Jamaica

- *Janet Brown*
  University of the West Indies
  Kingston, Jamaica

- *Judith Bruce*
  Population Council
  New York, USA

- *Giovanna Caravaggi*
  Programme Officer
  UNICEF Ankara
  Turkey

- *Barry Chevannes*
  University of the West Indies
  Kingston, Jamaica

- *Jose Carlos Cuentas Zavala*
  Representative
  UNICEF Mexico City
  Mexico

- *Diane Cummins*
  UNIFEM Regional Office
  Barbados

- *Gerard D'Abreau*
  National Coordinator of Adolescent Development Programme
  SERVOL Ltd.
  Trinidad and Tobago

- *Bruce Dick*
  Senior Advisor on Youth, Health and Development
  UNICEF NYHQ

- *John Donahue*
  Director, Evaluation and Research Office
  UNICEF NYHQ

- *Misrak Elias*
  Senior Programme Officer
  UNICEF NYHQ

- *Ibrahim El Kerdany*
  Chief, Health and Nutrition
  UNICEF Cairo
  Egypt

- *Camila Encinales*
  Assistant Regional Education Advisor
  UNICEF Santa Fe de Bogota
  Colombia

- *Patrice Engle*
  California Polytechnic
  USA

- *Steliana Eumarel*
  Assistant Project Officer
  UNICEF Bucharest
  Romania

- *Gretchen Goodale*
  Senior Programme Coordinator
  UNICEF Dhaka
  Bangladesh

- *Mona Greiser*
  Senior Environmental Communication Officer
  CEO, Global Vision Inc.

- *Sree Gururaja*
  Programme Officer
  UNICEF NYHQ

- *Jim Himes*
  Director, UNICEF ICDC
  Florence, Italy

- *Cedert Hines*
  Hope for Children
  Kingston, Jamaica

- *Mohammad Reza Hossaini*
  Senior Programme Officer
  UNICEF Tehran
  Iran

- *Janet Jackson*
  University of Guyana
  Guyana

- *Julia Johnson*
  Women's Centre of Jamaica
  Kingston, Jamaica

- *Gordon Klopf*
  Chair of NGO/DPI Executive Committee and
  Chair of the Working Group on Education
  of the NGO Committee on UNICEF

- *Keshab Mathema*
  Representative
  UNICEF Manila
  Philippines

- *Eva Moberg*
  Swedish National Committee
  Stockholm, Sweden

- *Asseny Muro*
  Project Officer: Community Development
  and Gender
  UNICEF Dar es Salaam
  Tanzania

- *Nharebat Nancaia Intchasso*
  Minister of Social Affairs and Women's
  Advancement
  Guinea-Bissau

- *Marjorie Newman-Williams*
  Representative
  UNICEF Bridgetown
  Barbados

- *Brita Ostberg*
  Representative
  UNICEF Colombo
  Sri Lanka

- *Michael Penn*
  Franklin and Marshall College,
  Temple University
  Pennsylvania, USA

- *Swarup Rani*
  Private Consultant
  Capetown
  South Africa

- *Dorothy Rowan-Campbell*
  Consultant
  Kingston, Jamaica

- *Alan F. Silverman*
  Training and Staff Development Officer
  UNICEF NYHQ

- *Steve Woodhouse*
  Representative
  UNICEF Phnom Penh
  Viet Nam

ANNEX 3:

INCORPORATING THE ROLE OF FATHERS IN THE SITUATION ANALYSIS: CAPE VERDE

A cross-sectional survey of a representative sample of children under five years of age was conducted in Cape Verde[1]. The country, with a population of 410,000 inhabitants, is an archipelago of ten islands located 650 kilometres off the coast of Senegal in Africa. The climate is Sahelian, with long periods of drought, and there are no significant permanent sources of potable water. Only 10 per cent of the land base is arable, which means that agriculture production is unable to meet the country's food requirements. The country is poor, with a gross national product per capita of US$ 803, and unemployment levels reach 25 per cent. These factors have led to massive migration; in fact, it is estimated that the number of Cape Verdians living abroad is twice that of the country's residents.

Information is not available on many child health indicators. The Ministry of Health, supported by UNICEF, has a great interest in obtaining reliable data that could help to better direct its planning activities. It was thus decided to conduct a national survey to obtain data on the most important child health indicators — nutritional status, health care utilization, and demographic, socio-economic and environmental variables. Special emphasis was also placed on family structure, with attention given to the role of fathers in addition to those of mothers.

Five areas of the country were sampled, with probability proportional to size. Therefore, more populated islands had an increased chance of being chosen, and the selected areas were Santiago (sampled twice), Sao Vicente, Santo Antão and Fogo. In each of the five areas, 15 census tracts were randomly sampled; in each tract, 25 households were visited. Thus, the study covered 1,800 households, with 11,609 under-five year-old children and 1,124 mothers.

Results were analysed according to living area (urban or rural), island of residence, and socio-economic status. This last was constructed on the basis of 12 different variables, including the occupation of the head of family, household conditions and facilities, water supply and sanitation.

Only 60 per cent of the mothers lived together with the child's father, with 4.1 per cent of fathers having migrated (2.1 per cent in urban areas and 7.0 per cent in rural families). Forty per cent of mothers with more than one child reported that they had more than one *pai de filho* (children's father), i.e., they had had their children with more than one partner. This situation of different *pais de filho*, which is very well analysed in the qualitative study accompanying the epidemiological survey, was more frequently seen in urban areas and was associated with socio-economic status. Thus, almost half (46.4 per cent) of the women of the poorest strata reported having more than one *pai de filho*, while this proportion dropped to 35.4 per cent in the better-off group. Reasons for this increased proportion in the lower socio-economic group included increased parity, but also seemed to be a strategy of family survival.

The survey found that a large part of Cape Verdian children live in very poor environmental conditions, leading to increased morbidity and malnutrition. Households are extremely poor and conditions of overcrowding are common (mean of seven household members). The situation is even worse in rural areas.

The sanitation situation was found to be critical, with two-thirds of urban households, and over 90 per cent of rural ones, without any sanitary facilities at all, not even a pit latrine.

Another important problem faced by Cape Verdians is water supply. Piped water is available in only 30 per cent of households with children under five years of age in urban areas and 3 per cent in rural areas. Water shortages are so common that even families living in houses with piped water supplies constantly need to use wells to obtain water.

With very poor housing, a practically non-existent sanitary system and severe water supply problems, children in Cape Verde have an increased risk of intestinal and and respiratory infections, as well as malnutrition. In fact, 15.3 per cent of children

present height-for-age deficits, which characterize long-term malnutrition (4.7 per cent with severe deficits and 10.6 per cent with moderate forms). Malnutrition is more common in rural areas, where the proportion of affected children reaches 20 per cent. Furthermore, 6.6 per cent of children presented diarrhoea on the day of the interview (8.2 per cent in rural areas and 5.4 per cent in urban environments). The prevalence of diarrhoea during the previous two weeks stood at 18.3 per cent.

Health problems, such as diarrhoea, respiratory infections, hospitalizations and malnutrition, were significantly more common among boys than girls. An increased prevalence of morbidity was also observed in those cases where the father did not live with the family. This association remained statistically significant even after adjusting for variables such as maternal age, education and working conditions.

In living conditions as harsh as these, health services face a difficult challenge: how to elect priorities and increase coverage and effectiveness? There are clear signs that efforts within the health sector have had a positive impact on some indicators. For example, immunization coverage is good, with rates over 80 per cent for specific vaccines; the growth monitoring system is very effective and few children do not have a recently used growth chart; diarrhoea management at home and by health services seems to be appropriate, with a good proportion of use of oral rehydration therapy and availability of rehydration salts in health units. On the maternal side, advances have been made in prenatal care coverage, even in rural areas, and contraceptive methods and education are reasonably available.

[1] The survey methodology is available from UNICEF Cape Verde.

ANNEX 4:
SAMPLE WORKPLANS

BANGLADESH
Gretchen Goodale

1. 1993-95 Master Plan of Operations to examine ongoing programmes in major sectors to see the extent to which males are targeted, participating, benefiting. (Most of this would be in the context of the Mid-decade Goals achievement.)

2. In the context of the Save the Children project we support:

   - review findings on parenting practices;
   - extent to which men are involved; and
   - suggest ways in which their increased involvement could contribute to child survival and development objectives.

3. In the context of our Nutrition programme, review findings on caring/feeding practices as per point 2. above.

4. Review experience in country on primary school drop outs/never enrolled by age/gender to determine factors (if any) which have differential impact (negative) on boys and girls. Conduct research if necessary in selected districts. Could also be done as an extension of our procedures for rapid assessments (PRA) of working children. Plans already underway.

5. Carry out briefing session on Jamaica and New York workshops:

   - first for UNICEF staff;
   - second for relevant donors, NGOs, Government of Bangladesh, research etc. officials.

6. As an inter-sectoral exercise, conducted in Division sub-national and national office, review new country programme in particular the supplementary funded projects to:

   - determine whether our analysis of the problem adequately considers participation of/impact on etc. various population groups, in particular men, including the extent to which these groups may influence the problem/solution;
   - strategies for reaching new (male) groups;
   - policy implications;
   - research requirements;
   - new partners.

7. In the context of child labour and our work with the Bangladesh Garment Manufacturers and Exporters Association, study factors influencing educational achievement of boys and girls (by age) as they are released from work and enter school (programme just starting — survey will be done at outset and continued through schools).

8. School-based health education and development programme — plans underway for this year, in primary schools, but we need to find ways of linking up with youth groups, reaching 11-14 year olds (especially in rural areas). Our initial steps on HIV/AIDS indicates working with NGOs, Youth Ministry and groups offers immense opportunities. This area needs a lot of attention.

ROMANIA
Steliana Fumarel

Long-Term Planning

1. It is necessary to:
   a) use the existing infrastructure;
   b) build on the experiences and partnership (already) achieved (in place);
   c) develop the projects included in the Family Education Programme by including boys, men, fathers, brothers, male teachers issues as appropriate;
   d) interest the Ministry of Education in cooperating to set up an interdisciplinary team to elaborate a 'situation analysis of men in Romanian society in transition';
   e) elaborate a framework (using the communication model) to design a project that will involve families, educational factors and community in addressing children's needs in a par-

ticular context (rural, urban, ethnic groups and communities (Roumani groups), suburbs of industrial towns).

2. Activities
   a) Preparatory activities will include: workshop for decision- and policy-makers in the health, education and social protection sectors on the role of family members in protecting and promoting the Convention on the Rights of the Child, National Committee for Child Protection, Ministry of Labor and Social Protection, Ministry of Education and Youth NGOs on the same issue;
   b) Designing of a strategy to include the main factors involved in promoting the involvement of men in child survival and development and promoting it in collaboration with: universities, social work departments, Institute for Studies in the Quality of Life, using a system approach and communication model;
   c) Elaboration of content, methodology, evaluation instruments necessary for developing activities related to gender contribution to child survival, development and protection;
   d) Starting to implement the activities in three pilot centres of the Early Childhood Education Project;
   e) Developing resource centres for parents in 10 counties all over the country by including the issue of men at all levels (objectives, activities, evaluation, elaboration of materials, etc.).

Perspective: To influence the education system (formal and non-formal) and the social protection system to take into consideration the family as a whole and to consider in their long-term policies the role of each member of the family with regard to health, education, social participation, etc.

Short-Term Activities

1. To organize workshops on the complementary role of the members of the family in child health, education, development, protection for:
   - educators involved in the Early Childhood Education Project;
   - social work departments (teachers and students) in four universities;
   - parents of preschool and primary-school-aged children;
   - nurses.

2. To initiate cooperation with Jamaica (University of West Indies and UNICEF) in the training of social workers, teachers and parents on the roles of both parents; adolescent pregnancy; community involvement;

3. To organize a series of workshops on the importance of the family environment for child health and development, risks, negative influences for educators, teachers and parents (inviting Michael Penn);

4. To produce materials to be used (and distributed) in kindergartens, primary schools, social work offices and universities on men's role in child development (booklets, video tapes);

5. To introduce the father's role in the Romanian context in the content of the five life films that will be produced for parent education (parent education video project in cooperation with Cassie Landers);

6. To organize a study tour for coordinators of the Social Work Training Project, Early Childhood Education Project and Parent Education Project in Jamaica;

7. To translate into Romanian the materials used for this Seminar and distribute them (selectively) to ministries, universities, social work departments, schools, NGOs.

Facts for Life - adaptation to Romanian context and introduce the role of men.

TANZANIA

Asseny Muro

UNICEF

1. Build the male and family perspectives into gender training for UNICEF.

2. Facilitate integration of the role of males in the family, adolescents in the family/society and gender equality perspectives in all steps of the Country Programme, Situation Analysis, Strategy, Master Plan of Operations, Programme Plan of Operations, etc.
3. Based on the girl child research in seven districts in

Tanzania, UNICEF will support publication of the report in book form. The plan is to go beyond the research findings and include in the book the wider issues of adolescent females in contrast with males.

4. See to it that the community-based programme for child survival, protection and development focuses more sharply on the role of males in child care/nurturing and work-sharing in the family.

With NGOs and the Ministry of Community Development, Women's Affairs and Children

1. Work with the Tanzania Gender Network Programme (an NGO working towards gender equality in Tanzania) to conduct a qualitative research study on gender socialization in the community. The research outcome will form the basis for community-based actions aimed at promoting gender equality in the home and in the community.

2. Advocate with the Tanzania Family Planning Association to broaden the youth programme to include:
   - skills development for self-employed
   - secondary education (O level)
   - recreation
   - health and family planning education and services.

3. Support the Tanzania Gender Network Programme to produce popular books on better parenting and the role of men.

4. Work with the Family Unit in the Ministry of Community Development, Women's Affairs and Children on policy-related issues on males in the family, socialization of children in the family — by influencing as much as possible the child policy currently being formulated.

5. Network (with Tanzania Media Women Association) to follow up and promote the good work started on violence against women. Tamwa has also started women's crisis centres in several towns.

ANNEX 5:
SUGGESTED READING LIST

Bruce, J., C.B. Lloyd, A. Leonard with P.L. Engle and N. Duffy, *Families in Focus: New Perspectives on Mothers, Fathers and Children*. New York: Population Council, 1995.

Caribbean Child Development Centre, School of Continuing Studies, *Men and their Families: A Discussion Guide for Use by Groups in Church, School, Community and Other Settings*. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies, 1994.

Engle, P., *Men in Families: Report of a Consultation on the Role of Males and Fathers in Achieving Gender Equality*, UNICEF Evaluation and Research Conference Reports, 1995.

Engle, P.L. and C. Breaux, *Is There a Father Instinct? Fathers' Responsibility for Children*. New York: Population Council, 1994.

Heise, L., K. Moore and N. Toubia, *Sexual Coercion and Reproductive Health: A Focus on Research*. New York: Population Council, 1995.

Levine, J., *Getting Men Involved: Strategies for Early Childhood Programmes*. New York: Scholastic Inc., 1994.

Phototypeset by
Bruzzi
Printed by
Arti Grafiche TICCI - Sovicille (SI)